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The Nuer political system includes all the peoples with whom they come into contact. By 'people' we mean all persons who speak the same language and have, in other respects, the same culture, and consider themselves to be distinct from like aggregates. The Nuer, the Shilluk, and the Anuak each occupy a continuous territory, but a people may be distributed in widely separate areas, e.g. the Dinka. When a people is, like the Shilluk, politically centralized, we may speak of a 'nation'. The Nuer and Dinka, on the other hand, are divided into a number of tribes which have no common organization or central administration and these peoples may be said to be, politically, a congeries of tribes, which sometimes form loose federations. The Nuer differentiate those tribes which live in the homeland to the west of the Nile from those which have migrated to the east of it. We find it convenient to make the same distinction and to speak of the Western Nuer and the Eastern Nuer. The Eastern Nuer may be further divided, for descriptive purposes, into those tribes which live near the Zeraf river and those which live to north and south of the Sobat river.

The largest political segment among the Nuer is the tribe. There is no larger group who, besides recognizing themselves as a distinct local community, affirm their obligation to combine in warfare against outsiders and acknowledge the rights of their members to compensation for injury. A tribe is divided into a number of territorial segments and these are more than mere geographical divisions, for the members of each consider themselves to be distinct communities and sometimes act as such. We call the largest tribal segments 'primary sections', the segments of a primary section 'secondary sections', and the segments of a secondary section 'tertiary sections'. A tertiary tribal section consists of a number of villages which are the smallest political units of Nuerland. A village is made up of domestic groups, occupying hamlets, homesteads, and huts.

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We discuss the institution of the feud and the part played in it by the leopard-skin chief in relation to the political system. The word 'chief' may be a misleading designation, but it is sufficiently vague to be retained in the absence of a more suitable English word. He is a sacred person without political authority. Indeed, the Nuer have no government, and their

361 maps are mainly, and often entirely, without village sites, and in Western Nuerland the whole area between the Nile and the Bahr el Ghazal is very sparsely dotted with small villages; and the same is probably true of the country to the north of the Bahr el Ghazal.

I am compelled to describe the distribution of dry season camps as vaguely as the distribution of villages. Early camps may be found almost anywhere and often comprise only a few households; but the location of larger camps, formed later in the season, can be known in advance because there are only a few places which provide adequate water. Their size depends largely on the amount of water and grazing and their population varies from about a hundred to over a thousand souls. These concentrations are never tribal but comprise larger or smaller tribal sections. Round a lake a camp may be distributed in several sections with a few hundred yards between each; or one may then speak of contiguous camps. In any camp a few wind-screens are generally adjacent to, almost touching, one another, and such a group may often at a glance be seen to be a distinct unit with its own section of the common kraal. Along the left bank of the Sobat and the right bank of the Baro one may observe from a steamer camps almost anywhere, separated from one another by only a few miles; but up streams, like the Nyanding and Filus, in which only isolated pools of water remain, several miles separate camps. Some large camps in the interior of Lou country are separated by more than twenty miles of bush.

131
619 Great rivers flow through Nuerland and it is often these natural boundaries which indicate the lines of political cleavage. The Sobat separates the Gaajok tribe from the Lou tribe; the Pibor separates the Lou tribe from the Anuak people; the Zeraf separates the Thiang and Lak from the Dinka; the Ghazal separates the Karlual primary section of the Leek tribe from its other two primary sections; and so forth. Marshes and areas inundated in the rains likewise separate political groups. The Macar swamps divide the Eastern Gaajak from the Gaajok and Gaagwang; water-covered stretches divide, in the rains, the Rengyan from the Wot, Bor, &c.; and so on.

000 This account of distribution is unavoidably vague, but the main conditions and their significance can easily be summed up.

62.1 occupy it, and small camps are sometimes named after an
old person of importance who has erected his windscreen there.
We have seen that the social composition of a camp varies at
different times of the drought from the people of a hamlet to the
people of a village, or of neighbouring villages, and that men
sometimes camp with kinsmen living in camps other than those
of their own villages. Consequently, while local communities of
the rains tend to be also local communities in the drought their
composition may be somewhat different. We again emphasize
that not only are the people of a camp living in a more compact
group than the people of a village, but also that in camp life
there is more frequent contact between its members and greater
co-ordination of their activities. The cattle are herded together,
[592] milked at the same time, and so on. In a village each household
herds its own cattle, if they are herded at all, and performs
its domestic and kraal tasks independently and at different
times. In the drought there is increasing concentration and
greater uniformity in response to the greater severity of the
season.

634 We sometimes speak of a district to describe an aggregate of
villages or camps which have easy and frequent intercommunication.
● 619 The people of these villages take part in the same dances,
intermarry, conduct feuds, go on joint raiding parties, share dry
season camps or make camps in the same locality, and so on.
This indefinite aggregate of contacts does not constitute a Nuer
category or a political group, because the people do not see
themselves, nor are seen by others, as a unique community, but
'district' is a term we employ to denote the sphere of a man's
social contacts or of the social contacts of the people of a village
and is, therefore, relative to the person or community spoken
about. A district in this sense tends to correspond to a tertiary
or a secondary tribal segment, according to the size of the tribe.
In the smallest tribes a whole tribe is a man's district, and a district
may even cut across tribal boundaries in that in a large tribe
a border village may have more contacts with neighbouring villages
of another tribe than with distant villages of its own tribe.
The sphere of a man's social contacts may thus not entirely
coincide with any structural division.

A number of adjacent villages, varying in number and total

extension according to the size of the tribe, are grouped into 634
small tribal sections and these into larger ones. In the larger 619
tribes it is convenient to distinguish between primary, secondary, and tertiary tribal sections. These sections, of whatever size, are, like a village, spoken of as '*cieng*'. Since the next chapter is devoted to these tribal segments no more is said about them here.

VI

The main Nuer tribes are shown on p. 8. The name 'Jagei' 619
inserted to the west of the Nile includes a number of small
tribes—Lang, Bor, Rengyan, and Wot. There are also some 161
small tribes—if they are rightly regarded as tribes, for little research was done in the area—in the vicinity of the Dok Nuer: Beegh, Jaalogh, (Gaan)Kwac, and Rol. A crude census, compiled from various Government sources, gives, in round figures, the more recent estimates for the larger tribes as follows:

Sobat Nuer: Gaajak, 42,000; Gaagwang, 7,000; Gaajok, 42,000; Lou, 33,000. *Zeraf Nuer*: Lak, 24,000; Thiang, 9,000; Gaawar, 20,000. Western Nuer: Bul, 17,000; Leek, 11,000; the three Western Jikany tribes, 11,000; the various Jagei tribes, 10,000; Dok, 12,000; Nuong, 9,000. These figures are probably more accurate for the Eastern than for the Western Nuer. Estimates show wide discrepancies and there has been much guesswork. On the basis of those recorded, the Sobat Nuer are 91,000, the *Zeraf* Nuer 53,000, and the Western Nuer 70,000, making a total of 214,000 for the whole of Nuerland. The population of only a few tribal segments is known. Among the Lou the Gun primary section number about 20,000 and the Mor primary section about 12,000; among the Gaawar the Radh primary section number about 10,000 and the Bar primary section about 10,000; and among the Lak tribe the Kwacbur primary section number about 12,000 and the Jenyang primary section number about 12,000.

It will be remarked that the tribes of Western Nuerland are 619
generally smaller than those on the Zeraf, and those on the Zeraf
smaller than those on the Sobat. Tribes tend to be larger the far- 161
ther eastwards one proceeds. Their territories also tend to be more 361
extensive. It may be suggested that the larger population of the Eastern Nuer tribes is due to the integrating effects of conquest and settlement and to the absorption of large numbers of Dinka which resulted therefrom, but we do not think that such explanations

619 161 361 account for their maintaining a semblance of tribal unity over such large areas in the absence of any central government. It is evident that the size of tribal populations is directly related to the amount of high land available for wet season occupation, and also to its disposition, for tribes like the Lou and Eastern Gaajok and Gaajak can have a concentration of homesteads and villages on wide stretches of elevated land, which is not possible for the smaller tribes of Western Nuerland, whose only building sites are small and sparsely 619 361 distributed ridges. But we hold that this fact in itself would not determine the lines of political cleavage, which can only be understood by taking into consideration also the relation between village sites and dry season water-supplies, pasturage, and fishing. We have noted earlier how tribal sections move from their villages to dry season pastures, each having spatial distinction in the rains which is maintained in the drought, but whereas in Western Nuerland there is always plenty of water, grazing, and fishing, generally not far from the villages, and it is possible for wet season village communities, isolated by inundated tracts in the rains, to maintain their isolation and independence in dry season camps, in the larger tribes of Eastern Nuerland, such as the Lou, drier conditions compel greater concentration and wider seasonal movements, with the result that village communities not only have a greater spatial, and we may say also moral, density in the drought than in the rains, but have to mix with one another and share water and pastures and fishing. Distinct villages are found side by side around a pool. Moreover, people of one section have to cross the territories of other sections to reach their camps, which may be situated near the villages of yet another section. Families and joint families often camp with kinsmen and affines who belong to other villages than their own, and it is a common practice to keep cattle in two or more parts of the country to avoid total loss from rinderpest, which is a dry season pestilence. It is understandable, therefore, that local communities which, though they are isolated in the rains, are forced in the drought into relations that necessitate some sense of community and the admission of certain common interests and obligations, should be contained in a common tribal structure. The severer the dry season conditions the greater the need for some measure of contact and therefore of forbearance and recognition of interdependence. The Zeraf tribes move less than the Sobat tribes and more than the Western Nuer tribes, the Gaawar moving more than the Thiang and Lak. We may again point out that on the whole where there is plenty of elevated country which permits concentration in the rains there is likewise the greater need for large concentrations in the dry

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season, since water, fishing, and pasture are found away from these elevated areas.

These facts seem to explain to some extent the political preponderance of pastoral peoples in East Africa. There may be wide dispersal of communities and low density of population, but there is seasonal contraction and wide interdependence. The variation in their circuits of transhumance also helps us to understand the variation in the size of Nuer tribes. It may be noted that, though the size and cohesion of tribes vary in different parts of Nuerland, nowhere do environmental conditions permit complete autonomy and exclusiveness of small village groups, such as we find among the Anuak, or such high density of population and such developed political institutions such as we find among the Shilluk.

Thus, on the one hand, environmental conditions and pastoral pursuits cause modes of distribution and concentration that provide the lines of political cleavage and are antagonistic to political cohesion and development; but, on the other hand, they necessitate extensive tribal areas within which there is a sense of community and a preparedness to co-operate.

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Each tribe has a name which refers alike to its members and to their country (*rol*), e.g. Leek, Gaawar, Lou, Lak, &c. (see map on p. 8). Each has its particular territory and owns and defends its own building sites, grazing, water-supplies, and fishing-pools. Not only do large rivers or wide stretches of uninhabited country generally divide adjacent sections of contiguous tribes, but these sections tend to move in different directions in the drought. Conditions are doubtless changing in this respect, but we may cite as examples how the Gaawar tribe tend to move eastwards towards the Zeraf and not to come into contact with the Gun primary section of the Lou tribe, who cluster around their inland lakes or move to the Sobat and Pibor; how the Mor tribal section of the Lou move to the Nyanding and Upper Pibor in the direction of the Gaajok, who do not coalesce with them but move to the upper reaches of the Sobat and the lower reaches of the Pibor; and how the Western Jikany move towards the marshes of the Nile, while the Leek move northwest to the junction of the Bahr el Ghazal with its streams and lagoons.

Tribesmen have a common sentiment towards their country and hence towards their fellow tribesmen. This sentiment is evident in the pride with which they speak of their tribe as the

619 object of their allegiance, their joking disparagement of other tribes, and their indication of cultural variations in their own tribe as symbols of its singularity. 619 186 A man of one tribe sees the people of another tribe as an undifferentiated group to whom he has an undifferentiated pattern of behaviour, while he sees himself as a member of a segment of his own tribe. Thus when a Leek man says that So-and-so is a Nac (Rengyan) he at once defines his relationship to him. Tribal sentiment rests as much on opposition to other tribes as on common name, common territory, corporate action in warfare, and the common lineage structure of a dominant clan.

How strong is tribal sentiment may be gathered from the fact that sometimes men who intend to leave the tribe of their birth to settle permanently in another tribe take with them some earth of their old country and drink it in a solution of water, slowly adding to each dose a greater amount of soil from their new country, thus gently breaking mystical ties with the old and building up mystical ties with the new. I was told that were a man to fail to do this he might die of *nueer*, the sanction that punishes breach of certain ritual obligations.

619 721 A tribe is the largest group the members of which consider it their duty to combine for raiding and for defensive action. The younger men of the tribe went, till recently, on joint expeditions against the Dinka and waged war against other Nuer tribes. Wars between tribes were less frequent than attacks on the Dinka, but there are many examples in recent Nuer history of border disputes among tribes and even of one tribe raiding another for cattle, and such fighting is traditional among the Nuer. The Leek tribe raided the Jikany and Jagei tribes, and a Leek tribesman told me, 'The cattle with which my father married were Gee (Jagei) cattle.' Poncet remarks: 'Les Elliab (Dok) se battent avec les Egnan (Nuong) du sud et les Relan (Rengyan) du nord; les Ror de l'intérieur avec ces derniers et les Bior (Bor) de Gazal (Ghazal river). Toutes leurs querelles viennent des pâturages qu'ils se disputent, ce qui n'empêche pas qu'ils voyagent les uns chez les autres sans aucun danger, à moins cependant qu'on n'ait un parent à venger.'[1] In theory a tribe was regarded as a military unit, and if two sections of different tribes

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[1] Op. cit., p. 39.

● 619 721 were engaged in hostilities each could rely on the support of the other sections of the same tribe; but, in practice, they would often only join in if the other side was receiving assistance from neighbouring sections. When a tribe united for warfare there was a truce to disputes within its borders.

Tribes, especially the smaller ones, often united to raid foreigners. The Leek united with the Jagei and Western Jikany, and the Lou with the Gaawar to attack the Dinka; the Lou with the Eastern Jikany tribes to attack the Anuak; and so on. These military alliances between tribes, often under the aegis of a Sky-god, speaking through his prophet (p. 188), were of short duration, there was no moral obligation to form them, and, though action was concerted, each tribe fought separately under its own leaders and lived in separate camps in enemy country.

619 726 628 Fighting between Nuer of different tribes was of a different character from fighting between Nuer and Dinka. Inter-tribal fighting was considered fiercer and more perilous, but it was subject to certain conventions: women and children were not molested, huts and byres were not destroyed, and captives were not taken. Also, other Nuer were not considered natural prey, as were the Dinka.

619 681 Another defining characteristic of a tribe is that within it there is *cut*, blood-wealth paid in compensation for homicide, and Nuer explain the tribal value in terms of it. Thus Lou tribesmen say that among themselves there is blood-wealth, but not between themselves and the Gaajok or the Gaawar; and this is the invariable definition of tribal allegiance in every part of Nuerland. Between tribesmen there is also *ruok*, compensation for torts other than homicide, though the obligation to pay it is less generally stressed or carried out, while between one tribe and another no such obligation is acknowledged. We may therefore say that there is law, in the limited and relative sense defined in Chapter IV, between tribesmen, but no law between tribes. If a man commits an offence against a fellow tribesman he places himself and his kin in a legal position towards this man and his kin, and the hostile relations that ensue can be broken down by payment of cattle. If a man commits the same act against a man of another tribe no breach of law is recognized, no obligation is felt to settle the dispute, and there is no

• 619 681 machinery to conclude it. Local communities have been classed as tribes or tribal segments by whether they acknowledge the obligation to pay blood-wealth or not. Thus the Gun and the Mor are classed as primary segments of the Lou tribe, while the Eastern Gaajok, Gaajak, and Gaagwang have been classed as three tribes and not as three primary segments of a single Jikany tribe.

It may have happened that border cases between different tribes were sometimes settled by payment of compensation, but I have no record of such settlements other than the doubtful statement given on p. 169, and were they to have taken place it would in no way invalidate our definition of tribal structure. However, it must be understood that we are defining a tribe in the most formal way and that, as we shall show later, the acknowledgement of legal responsibility within a tribe does not mean that, in fact, it is easy to obtain compensation for a tort. There is little solidarity within a tribe and feuds are frequent and of long duration. Indeed, the feud is a characteristic institution of tribal organization.

A tribe has been defined by (1) a common and distinct name; (2) a common sentiment; (3) a common and distinct territory; (4) a moral obligation to unite in war; and (5) a moral obligation to settle feuds and other disputes by arbitration. To these five points can be added three further characteristics, which are discussed later: (6) a tribe is a segmented structure and there is opposition between its segments; (7) within each tribe there is a dominant clan and the relation between the lineage structure of this clan and the territorial system of the tribe is of great structural importance; (8) a tribe is a unit in a system of tribes; and (9) age-sets are organized tribally.

VII

619 Adjacent tribes are opposed to one another and fight one another. They sometimes combine against Dinka, but such combinations are loose and temporary federations for a specific end and do not correspond to any clear political value. Occasionally a tribe will allow a section of another to camp in its territory and there may be more contacts between persons of border villages or camps of different tribes than between widely sepa-

rated communities of the same tribe. The first may have more 619 social contacts; the second be structurally nearer. But between Nuer tribes there is no common organization or central administration and hence no political unity that we can refer to as national. Nevertheless, adjacent tribes, and the Dinka who face them, form political systems, since the internal organization of each tribe can only be fully understood in terms of their mutual opposition, and their common opposition to the Dinka who border them.

Beyond these systems of direct political relations the whole 186 Nuer people see themselves as a unique community and their culture as a unique culture. Opposition to their neighbours gives them a consciousness of kind and a strong sentiment of exclusiveness. A Nuer is known as such by his culture, which is very homogeneous, especially by his language, by the absence of his lower incisors, and, if he is a man, by six cuts on his brow. All Nuer live in a continuous stretch of country. There are no isolated sections. However, their feeling of community goes deeper than recognition of cultural identity. Between Nuer, wherever they hail from, and though they be strangers to one another, friendly relations are at once established when they meet outside their country, for a Nuer is never a foreigner to another as he is to a Dinka or a Shilluk. Their feeling of superiority and the contempt they show for all foreigners and their readiness to fight them are a common bond of communion, and their common tongue and values permit ready intercommunication.

Nuer are well aware of the different divisions of their country, even if they have never visited them, and they all look upon the area to the west of the Nile as their common homeland, to the occupants of which they still have distant kinship ties. People 484 also journey to visit kinsmen in other tribes and often settle for 619 long periods far from their homes, sometimes in different tribes, in which, if they stay there long enough, they become permanently incorporated. Constant social intercourse flows across the borders of adjacent tribes and unites their members, especially members of border communities, by many strands of kinship and affinity. If a man changes his tribe he can at once fit himself into the age-set system of the tribe of his adoption, and there is

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619 often co-ordination of sets between adjacent tribes. A single clan is sometimes dominant in more than one tribal area, domi-
[314] nant clans are linked in a general clan system, and the principal clans are found in every part of Nuerland. We have noted how in the days of ivory trading Gaajak tribesmen journeyed through the territories of other tribes as far as the Zeraf.

619 571 The limits of the tribe are therefore not the limits of social intercourse, and there are many ties between persons of one tribe and persons of another tribe. Through association with the clan system and by proximity the people of one tribe may consider themselves nearer to a second than to a third. Thus the three Eastern Jikany tribes feel a vague unity in relation to the Lou, and so do the Bor and Rengyan in relation to the Leek. But, also, individuals, and through individuals kinship groups and even a village, have a circuit of social relationships that cut across tribal divisions, so that a traveller who crosses the border of his tribe can always establish some links with individuals of the tribe he visits in virtue of which he will receive hospitality and protection. If he is wronged, his host, and not he, is involved in legal action. However, there is a kind of international law, in the recognition of conventions in certain matters, beyond political boundaries and the limits of formal law. Thus,
[583] though it is considered more risky to marry outside the tribe than within it, since divorce may prove more detrimental in that the return of bride-wealth is less certain, the rules of marriage are acknowledged on both sides and it would be considered improper to take advantage of political cleavage to break them. Tribes are thus politically exclusive groups, but they are not coterminous with an individual's sphere of social relations, though this sphere tends to follow the lines of political cleavage, in the same way as a man's district tends to be equated to his tribal segment. The relation between political structure and general social relations is discussed in the chapters that follow. Here we may note that it is desirable to distinguish between (1) political distance in the sense of structural distance between segments of a tribe, the largest political unit, and between tribes in a system of political relations; (2) general structural distance in the sense of non-political distance between various social groups in the Nuer-speaking community—non-political struc-

tural relations are strongest between adjacent tribes, but a 619
common social structure embraces the whole of Nuerland; and 571
(3) the social sphere of an individual, being his circuit of social contacts of one kind or another with other Nuer.

VIII

The political structure of the Nuer can only be understood 619
in relation to their neighbours, with whom they form a single
political system. Contiguous Dinka and Nuer tribes are seg- 648
ments within a common structure as much as are segments of the same Nuer tribe. Their social relationship is one of hostility and its expression is in warfare.

The Dinka people are the immemorial enemies of the Nuer. 648
They are alike in their oecologies, cultures, and social systems, so that individuals belonging to the one people are easily assimilated to the other; and when the balanced opposition between a Nuer political segment and a Dinka political segment changes into a relationship in which the Nuer segment becomes entirely dominant, fusion and not a class structure results.

As far as history and tradition go back, and in the vistas of myth beyond their farthest reach, there has been enmity between the two peoples. Almost always the Nuer have been the [773]
aggressors, and raiding of the Dinka is conceived by them to be a normal state of affairs and a duty, for they have a myth, like that of Esau and Jacob, which explains it and justifies it. Nuer and Dinka are represented in this myth as two sons of God who promised his old cow to Dinka and its young calf to Nuer. Dinka came by night to God's byre and, imitating the voice of Nuer, obtained the calf. When God found that he had been tricked he was angry and charged Nuer to avenge the injury by raiding Dinka's cattle to the end of time. This story, familiar to every Nuer, is not only a reflection of the political relations between the two peoples but is also a commentary on their characters. Nuer raid for cattle and seize them openly and by force of arms. Dinka steal them or take them by treachery. All Nuer regard them—and rightly so—as thieves, and even the Dinka seem to admit the reproach, if we attribute correct significance to the statement made to Mr. K. C. P. Struvé in 1907 by the Dinka keeper of the shrine of Deng dit at Luang Deng.

bodies were thrown on the flaming byres and huts. Captives were placed in the centre of the camp, the women being sometimes bound at night to render them more secure. Sexual intercourse is taboo on a raid. Nor may Nuer eat with a captive. A boy captive may not even draw water for them to drink. Only when 727 [834] [784]

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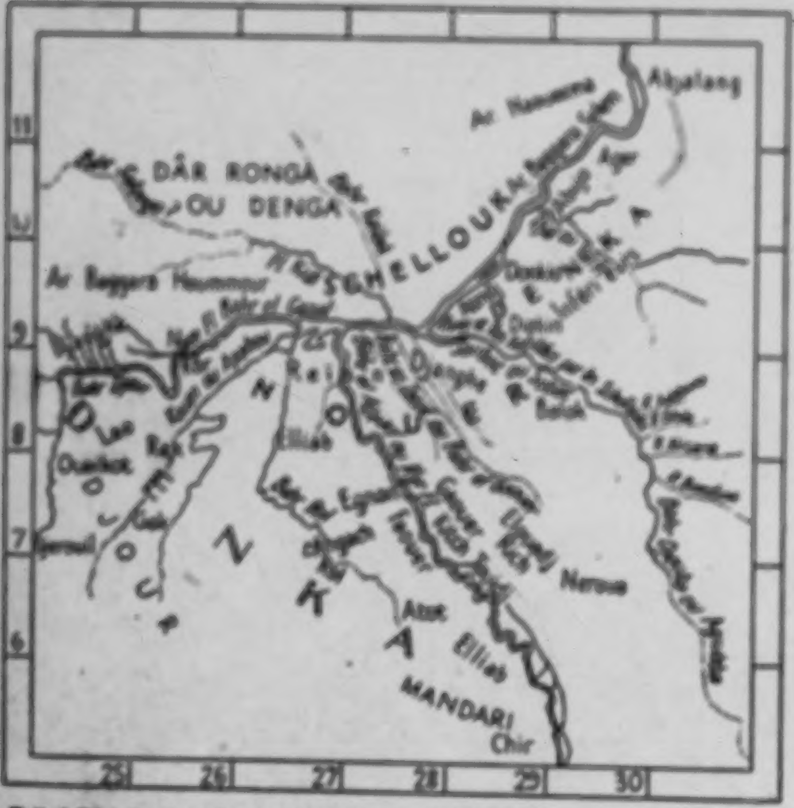
Akjalang
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Tribal Distribution about 1860 (after V. A. Malte-Brun, *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, 1863).

an ox has been sacrificed in honour of the ghosts, after the return home, and they have been informed that strangers have entered their homesteads, may Nuer have sexual relations with captives or eat with them.

In the following section we describe other foreign contacts, but till European conquest the only foreign relations which may be said to have been expressed in constant warfare were those with the various Dinka tribes which border Nuerland. 648

does not see himself as a member of that same group in so far as he is a member of a segment of it which stands outside of and is opposed to other segments of it. Hence a man can be a member of a group and yet not a member of it. This is a fundamental principle of Nuer political structure. Thus a man is a member of his tribe in its relation to other tribes, but he is not a member of his tribe in the relation of his segment of it to other segments of the same kind. Likewise a man is a member of his tribal segment in its relation to other segments, but he is not a member of it in the relation of his village to other villages of the same segment. A characteristic of any political group is hence its invariable tendency towards fission and the opposition of its segments, and another characteristic is its tendency towards fusion with other groups of its own order in opposition to political segments larger than itself. Political values are thus always, structurally speaking, in conflict. One value attaches a man to his group and another to a segment of it in opposition to other segments of it, and the value which controls his action is a function of the social situation in which he finds himself. For a man sees himself as a member of a group only in opposition to other groups and he sees a member of another group as a member of a social unity however much it may be split into opposed segments. 829

Therefore the diagram presented on p. 114[a] illustrates political structure in a very crude and formal way. It cannot very easily be pictured diagrammatically, for political relations are relative and dynamic. They are best stated as tendencies to conform to certain values in certain situations, and the value is determined by the structural relationships of the persons who compose the situation. Thus whether and on which side a man fights in a dispute depends on the structural relationship of the persons engaged in it and of his own relationship to each party.

We need to refer to another important principle of Nuer political structure: the smaller the local group the stronger the sentiment uniting its members. Tribal sentiment is weaker than the sentiment of one of its segments and the sentiment of a segment is weaker than the sentiment of a village which is part of it. Logically this might be supposed to be the case, for if unity 186 621 619● 571

[a] [See catagory 116 —Analyst]

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within a group is a function of its opposition to groups of the same kind it might be surmised that the sentiment of unity within a group must be stronger than the sentiment of unity within a larger group that contains it. But it is also evident that the smaller the group the more the contacts between its members, the more varied are these contacts, and the more they are co-operative. In a big group like the tribe contacts between its members are infrequent and corporate action is limited to occasional military excursions. In a small group like the village not only are there daily residential contacts, often of a co-operative nature, but the members are united by close agnatic, cognatic, and affinal ties which can be expressed in reciprocal action. These become fewer and more distant the wider the group, and the cohesion of a political group is undoubtedly dependent on the number and strength of ties of a non-political kind.

It must also be stated that political actualities are confused and conflicting. They are confused because they are not always, even in a political context, in accord with political values, though they tend to conform to them, and because social ties of a different kind operate in the same field, sometimes strengthening them and sometimes running counter to them. They are conflicting because the values that determine them are, owing to the relativity of political structure, themselves in conflict. Consistency of political actualities can only be seen when the dynamism and relativity of political structure are understood and the relation of political structure to other social systems is taken into consideration.

CHAPTER IV

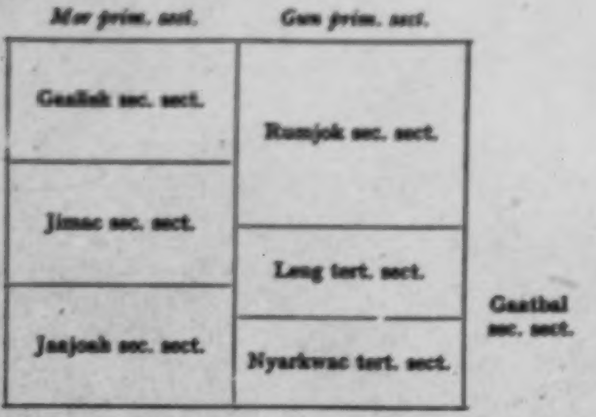
THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

I

NUER tribes are split into segments. The largest segments we call primary tribal sections and these are further segmented into secondary tribal sections which are further segmented into tertiary tribal sections. Experience shows that primary, secondary, and tertiary are sufficient terms of definition, and in the smallest tribes probably fewer terms are required. A tertiary tribal section comprises a number of village communities which are composed of kinship and domestic groups. 619

Thus, the Lou tribe, as shown in the diagram below, is segmented into the Gun and Mor primary sections. The Gun primary section is segmented into the Rumjok and Gaatbal secondary sections. The Gaatbal secondary section is further segmented into the Leng and Nyarkwac tertiary sections. Only a few segments are shown diagrammatically: Gaaliek is split into Nyaak and Buth, Rumjok into Falker, Nyajikany, Kwacgien, &c., and so on.

LOU TRIBE


Mor prim. sect.
Gun prim. sect.
Gaaliek sec. sect.
Jimac sec. sect.
Jaajoah sec. sect.
Rumjok sec. sect.
Leng tert. sect.
Nyarkwac tert. sect.
Gaatbal sec. sect.

The diagram on p. 140 shows the primary sections of the Eastern Gaagwang tribe and the primary and secondary sections of the Eastern Gaajak and Gaajok tribes. They are

[p. 139]

619

presented as accurately as my knowledge permits, but anyone acquainted with the difficulties of unravelling the complex system of Nuer tribal divisions will not be surprised if he discovers sections which he knows under different names or others which he may think should not have been omitted. I am not certain of the secondary sections of the Gaagwang tribe, which I have not visited.

EASTERN JIKANY TRIBES

	Gaajok tribe	Gaagwang tribe	Gaajak tribe	
Laang prim. sect.	Thiur sec. sect.	Gaatiika prim. sect.	Nyayan sec. sect.[1]	Gaagwong prim. sect.
	Dwong sec. sect.		Cany sec. sect.	
	Kwith sec. sect.		Wau sec. sect.	
Wangkac prim. sect.	Minyaal sec. sect.	Nyingaa prim. sect.	Kong sec. sect.[2]	Reng prim. sect.
	Wang sec. sect.		Cal sec. sect.[3]	
	Nyathol sec. sect.		Dhilleak sec. sect.[4]	
Yol prim. sect.	Pwot sec. sect.	Nyaang prim. sect.	Tar sec. sect.	Thiang prim. sect.
	Kwal sec. sect.			
	Yiic sec. sect.		Kang sec. sect.	
	Cam sec. sect.			
	Kwal sec. sect.		Lony sec. sect.	

Among the Western Jikany the Gaagwang appear to be classed as part of the Gaajok tribe whose country stretches on both sides of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, the Gaajak tribe living to the south of that river. The primary sections of these two tribes, Gaagwong, Reng, Thiang, Laang, Wangkac, and Yol, are the same as in the east, but some secondary sections which are important to the north of the Sobat are not to be found, except as very small clusters, on the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and vice versa. The reason for this is that certain lineages migrated eastwards while others remained in the homeland.

After having satisfied myself that the segmentation of other

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[1] With which goes Nyajaani.
[2] Also called Nyaruny.
[3] Also called Tiek and Yaar.
[4] Also called Gying.

Nuer tribes is on the same pattern as that of the Lou and Jikany tribes I did not make detailed lists of their divisions, being interested in new and different inquiries. I include, however, some diagrammatic representations of tribal segmentation in Gaawar, Lak, and Thiang countries, for which I am indebted to Mr. B. A. Lewis, at one time Commissioner for Zeraf River District.

GAAWAR TRIBE

Radh prim. sect.	*Bar prim. sect.*	
Kerbiel sec. sect.	Bang tert. sect.	Liah sec. sect.
Nyadakwon sec. sect.	Jamogh tert. sect.	
Per sec. sect.	Caam tert. sect.	Gatkwa sec. sect.
Nyaigua sec. sect.	Gatkwa tert. sect.	
Jithoth sec. sect.		

LAK TRIBE

Jenyang prim. sect.	*Kwacbur prim. sect.*	
Kadwop sec. sect.	Nyawar tert. sect.	Tobot sec. sect.
	Dungrial tert. sect.	
Nyapir sec. sect.	Thiang tert. sect.	Lak sec. sect.
	Kar. tert. sect.	
	Cuak tert. sect.	

THIANG TRIBE

Riah prim. sect.	*Bang prim. sect.*	
Juak sec. sect.	Gai tert. sect.	Nyangur sec. sect.
	Bedid tert. sect.	
Manyal sec. sect.	Dwong tert. sect.	
	Kweth sec. sect.	
Gin sec. sect.	Cuol sec. sect.	

800 It will have been observed that I have not attempted to list all the sections of each tribe, but have merely tried to indicate the mode of segmentation so that the relation between tribal divisions and lineages may be more clearly understood in the following chapter.

II

619 Segments of a tribe have many of the characteristics of the tribe itself. Each has its distinctive name, its common sentiment, and its unique territory. Usually one section is clearly divided from another by a wide stretch of bush or by a river. Segments of the same tribe also tend to turn in different directions for their dry season pastures, as is shown on the sketch-maps on pp. 56, 58, and 60, so that the spatial divisions of the rains are maintained, and may be accentuated during the drought, though, as we have pointed out, in the larger tribes to the east of the Nile severity of natural conditions may also produce closer interrelations than in the smaller tribes to the west.

The smaller the tribal segment the more compact its territory, the more contiguous its members, the more varied and more intimate their general social ties, and the stronger therefore its sentiment of unity. As we shall see, a tribal segment is crystallized around a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe and the smaller the segment the closer the genealogical relationship between members of this clan fragment. Also the smaller the segment the more the age-set system determines behaviour and produces corporate action within it. Political cohesion thus not only varies with variations of political distance but is also a function of structural distance of other kinds.

619 628 Each segment is itself segmented and there is opposition between its parts. The members of any segment unite for war against adjacent segments of the same order and unite with these adjacent segments against larger sections. Nuer themselves state this structural principle clearly in the expression of their political values. Thus they say that if the Leng tertiary section of the Lou tribe fights the Nyarkwac tertiary section—and, in fact, there has been a long feud between them—the villages which compose each section will combine to fight; but

1/1 [See cat. 116 — Analyst]

if there is a quarrel between the Nyarkwac tertiary section and the Rumjok secondary section, as has occurred recently over water rights at Fading, Leng and Nyarkwac will unite against their common enemy Rumjok which, in its turn, forms a coalition of the various segments into which it is divided. If there is a fight between the Mor and the Gun primary sections, Rumjok and Gaatbal will unite against the combined Mor sections: Gaaliek, Jimac, and Jaajoah. If there is fighting against the Gaajok or the Gaawar the primary sections, Gun and Mor, will, at any rate in theory, combine and a united Lou tribe will take the field, since both sections belong to the same political group and since their dominant lineages belong to the same clan. Certainly they used to unite in raids on the Dinka. 619 628

Among the Eastern Gaajok, Minyal, Wang, and Nyathol sections combine against Yol. Also Thiur, Dwong, and Kwith sections unite for war. These fights between tribal sections and the feuds that result from them, though based on a territorial principle, are often represented in terms of lineages, since there is a close relation between territorial segments and lineage segments, and Nuer habitually express social obligations in a kinship idiom. Thus in telling me that Wangkac and Yol would unite for war against any other section Nuer stated the proposition by saying that the WANGKAC and YOL lineages, which are the dominant lineages in these sections, would unite because their ancestors were sons of the same mother. We shall see in Chapter V that Nuer generally speak in such terms. 619 628 613

This principle of segmentation and the opposition between segments is the same in every section of a tribe and extends beyond the tribe to relations between tribes, especially among the smaller Western Nuer tribes, which coalesce more easily and frequently in raiding the Dinka and in fighting one another than the larger tribes to the east of the Nile. Thus a man of the Fadang section of the Bor tribe exemplified it when he told me, 'We fight against the Rengyan, but when either of us is fighting a third party we combine with them'. It can be stated in hypothetical terms by the Nuer themselves and can best be represented in this way. In the diagram on p. 144, when Z^1 fights Z^2 no other section is involved. When Z^1 fights Y^1, Z^1 and Z^2 unite as Y^2. When Y^1 fights X^1, Y^1 and Y^2 unite, and so do X^1 619 628

1; Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

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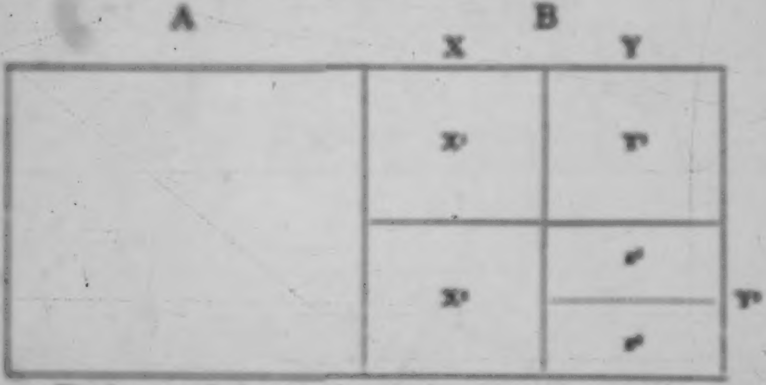
and X^2. When X^1 fights A, X^1, X^2, Y^1, and Y^2 all unite as B. When A raids the Dinka A and B may unite.



The larger tribal sections were almost autonomous groups and acted as such in their enmities and alliances. At one time they would be fighting among themselves and at another would be combining against a third party. These combinations were not always as regular and simple as they were explained to me and as I have stated them. I give a few examples of fighting between tribal sections. One of the worst wars in Nuer history occurred in the last generation between the Gun and the Mor moieties of the Lou tribe. It was known as *kur luny yak*, the war of letting loose the hyena, because so many people were killed that the dead were left for the hyenas to eat. It is said that in this struggle men displayed unusual ferocity, even cutting off arms to seize quickly ivory armlets. There was a lengthy, and more recent, feud between the Leng and the Nyarkwac tertiary sections of the Lou tribe which has continued up to the present. It sprang out of an earlier fight between Thiang and Yol which once formed sub-sections of the Nyarkwac. The ancestors of the dominant lineages in the Leng and Yol divisions were brothers, whereas the ancestor of the dominant lineage of the Thiang division stood to these brothers in the relationship of sister's son. For a long while Yol and Thiang lived peaceably together, but some thirty years ago a fight broke out between them, and Thiang, defeated, fled to seek protection among the Leng section. The Yol sent messages to the Leng telling them that they were not to receive their enemies or give them asylum. The Leng replied that the ancestor of the LENG lineage was the maternal uncle of the ancestor of the THIANG lineage and that they could not refuse asylum to their sisters' sons. This attitude involved Yol (Nyarkwac) in a second war, this time against a combination of Leng and Thiang. Other recent Lou feuds were between the

Falkir and Nyajikany divisions of the Rumjok secondary section and between various local communities of the Mor primary section, particularly between two divisions of the Jimac secondary section. 619 628

In Eastern Gaajok country the Yol primary section joined the Gaagwang tribe, who seem to have identified themselves so much with the Gaajok tribe that we may almost speak of them, as we can to the west of the Nile, as a single tribe separated from the Gaajak by the wide Macar swamps, against several, if not all, sections of the Gaajak tribe. Yol fought Nyayan while Gaagwang fought Reng and Kang. About half a century ago the Laang and Wangkac primary sections of the Gaajok tribe were involved in a long feud and there was also warfare between the Yol and Wangkac sections in which Yol, assisted by their allies the Gaagwang tribe, were victorious; the Wangkac being so heavily defeated that they moved southwards to the banks of the Pibor river. Here, they say, they were attacked by *Turuk* (Arabs of some kind) and moved north again to the site of their old homes. They were too exhausted to resume their feud with the Yol section. In spite of these internal feuds, if any section of the Gaajok tribe is engaged in warfare with the Lou tribe all its sections will come to assist the threatened section if it is not strong enough to resist whatever section of the Lou is opposed to it. There have also been feuds between the Eastern Gaajak sections, e.g. between Thiang and Reng. When two tribes fight, other tribes remain neutral, and if two sections of a tribe are at war with one another the other sections of each may leave them to fight it out if they are well matched and do not appeal for assistance. Some of Miss Soule's informants pointed out that when there was trouble a few years ago between the Yol section of the Gaajok tribe and the Lony section of the Gaajak tribe they were strong enough to fight their own battle, but had Lony not been strong enough to fight single-handed then the Kaang and Tar, and possibly other, sections of the Gaajak would have come to its assistance, in which case the Gaajok sections would have joined Yol. They also pointed out that at present there is trouble between the Luluaa section and the Wang section. There is also trouble between various sections of Wangkac. If Luluaa and Wang begin to fight then the Wangkac sections will compose their differences and join Luluaa.

In accordance with the general tendency to the west of the Nile the Western Gaajok and Gaajak tribes are not only smaller but less united than the Eastern Gaajok and Gaajak. Both, on the Bahr-el-Ghazal, had frequent and bitter internal feuds. There was a fierce battle between the Gai division of the Gaagwong primary section and two other divisions of the same section, the Kwoth and the

619 Bor, whose dominant lineages spring from one mother. The Kwoth and Bor divisions were defeated and migrated southwards to settle
628 at Kwac in Rengyan country. The same Gai division also had a feud with the Rong primary division, after which it moved into Karlual country. There were numerous other feuds in the Gaajak tribe. The Gaajak tribe once lived entirely on the left bank of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and their present extension on the right bank is a consequence of migration following feuds.

The Leek tribe once all lived on the right bank of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Here two of its primary sections, Cuaagh and Deng who lived to the west of the Gany river, fought the third primary section, the Keunyang (Karlual), who lived to the east of that river, and being defeated crossed the Bahr-el-Ghazal and settled on its left bank. The story is that some aristocrats of the Nyapir section and some aristocrats of the Nyawah section used offensive expressions in songs about one another. These songs led to fighting between the young men, one of whom on each side was killed. There was further fighting in consequence, and finally Deng and Cuaagh crossed the river. In the following year they recrossed the Bahr-el-Ghazal to camp in the dry season on the right bank and on their return to their villages they drove before them herds belonging to Keunyang. Six of their girls came back to collect their dairy vessels which they had left in a camp but and were waylaid and killed by some Keunyang men. This act was considered a serious breach of the rules of war, for the Nuer do not kill their own womenfolk. Because of it the Deng uttered a curse, according to which it is forbidden to an aristocrat of Keunyang who crosses the Bahr-el-Ghazal and settles among the Deng or Cuaagh, and also to an aristocrat of Deng or Cuaagh who moves southwards and settles among the Keunyang, to build a cattle-byre in the usual manner. The curse also causes an aristocrat who thus changes his residence to beget only boys for his first few children because of the slain girls. When the Government raided Karlual (Keunyang) country many Keunyang aristocrats crossed the river to live in Deng and Cuaagh country. At the present day many Deng and Cuaagh spend the dry season in Keunyang country because their own country is not rich in good pasture grasses but consists mainly of marsh grasses which are not so nourishing.

Within each of these primary sections there were constant feuds. Thus in Karlual country, Riaagh, Gom, Jiom, Nyaagh, Jikul, and Ngwol sections have been frequently at feud with one another. It would be tedious to recount the occasions and outcome of these petty feuds. I want only to make it clear that the villages occupied

•619 628 by these minor sections, Tutgar (Ngwol), Nyang (Riaagh), Nyueny (Juak), Kol (Jikul), &c., are only a few miles from their nearest neighbours, all of them being contained in a radius of five miles. It is between villages and tertiary tribal sections that fights most frequently take place and feuds develop.

I could give many more examples of feuds, but to no purpose, for those I have cited amply illustrate the lack of political control in Nuer tribes. We may conclude that a man's tribe only claims his allegiance in intertribal fighting and in wars against the Dinka. In normal times a man thinks and acts as a member of very much smaller local groups with the members of which he has manifold contacts.

III

619 We may use the diagram on p. 144 to emphasize the principle of contradiction in political structure. A member of Z^2 tertiary section of tribe B sees himself as a member of Z^2 in relation to Z^1, and all other members of Z^2 see themselves as members of that group in relation to Z^1 and are so regarded by members of Z^1. But he regards himself as a member of Y^2 and not of Z^2 in relation to Y^1 and is so regarded by members of Y^1. Likewise he regards himself as a member of Y and not of Y^2 in relation to X, and as a member of the tribe B, and not of its primary section Y, in relation to tribe A. Any segment sees itself as an independent unit in relation to another segment of the same section, but sees both segments as a unity in relation to another section; and a section which from the point of view of its members comprises opposed segments is seen by members of other sections as an unsegmented unit. Thus there is, as we have pointed out earlier, always contradiction in the definition of a political group, for it is a group only in relation to other groups. A tribal segment is a political group in relation to other segments of the same kind and they jointly form a tribe only in relation to other Nuer tribes and adjacent foreign tribes which form part of the same political system, and without these relations very little meaning can be attached to the concepts of tribal segment and tribe. We make here the same point as we made in discussing the word *cieng*[1] that political values are relative and that the political system is an equilibrium

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[1] [See pp. 135-137, cat. 116.--Analyst]

•619 between opposed tendencies towards fission and fusion, between the tendency of all groups to segment, and the tendency of all groups to combine with segments of the same order. The tendency towards fusion is inherent in the segmentary character of Nuer political structure, for although any group tends to split into opposed parts these parts must tend to fuse in relation to other groups, since they form part of a segmentary system. Hence fission and fusion in political groups are two aspects of the same segmentary principle, and the Nuer tribe and its divisions are to be understood as an equilibrium between these two contradictory, yet complementary, tendencies. Physical environment, mode of livelihood, poor communications, a simple technology, and sparse food-supply—all, in fact, that we call their oecology—to some extent explain the demographic features of Nuer political segmentation, but the tendency towards segmentation must be defined as a fundamental principle of their social structure.

There must always, therefore, be something arbitrary about our formal definition of a tribe by the characters we have earlier listed. The political system is an expanding series of opposed segments from the relations within the smallest tribal section to intertribal and foreign relations, for opposition between segments of the smallest section seems to us to be of the same structural character as the opposition between a tribe and its Dinka neighbours, though the form of its expression differs. Often it is by no means easy to decide whether a group should be regarded as a tribe or as the segment of a tribe, for political structure has a dynamic quality. Using payment of bloodwealth as the principal criterion we class the Eastern Gaajok and Gaajak as distinct tribes because there is no compensation for homicide between them, but they consider themselves to be a single community in relation to the Lou. The tribal value is still recognized throughout Lou country, but, in fact, the Gun and the Mor sections are largely autonomous and it may be doubted whether compensation for homicide would actually be paid between them, though people say that it ought to be paid. It appears that so many people were killed in feuds between the Yol and Wangkac primary sections of the Gaajok tribe that all payments for homicide lapsed. On the other hand, I was told

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that at the time when the influence of the Lou prophets Ngundeng and Gwek was at its height compensation was for a time paid between the Lou and the Gaajok. In the larger tribes the segments recognize a formal unity, but there may be little actual cohesion. The tribal value is still affirmed, but actual relations may be in conflict with it since they are based on local allegiances within the tribe, and, in our opinion, it is this conflict between rival values within a territorial system which is the essence of the political structure.

Nuer tribes are an evaluation of territorial distribution, and tribal and intertribal and foreign relations are standardized modes of behaviour through which the values are expressed. The tribal value is, therefore, relative and at any time is attached to a certain extension of an expanding series of structural relations without being inevitably fixed to that extension. Moreover, it is not only relative because what we designate a tribe to-day may be two tribes to-morrow, but it can only be said to determine behaviour when a certain set of structural relations are in operation, mainly acts of hostility between tribal segments and between a tribe and other groups of the same structural order as itself, or acts likely to provoke aggression. A tribe very rarely engages in corporate activities, and, furthermore, the tribal value determines behaviour in a definite and restricted field of social relations and is only one of a series of political values, some of which are in conflict with it. The same is true of its segments. We would, therefore, suggest that Nuer political groups be defined, in terms of values, by the relations between their segments and their interrelations as segments of a larger system in an organization of society in certain social situations, and not as parts of a kind of fixed framework within which people live.

We do not doubt that there is an interdependence between the various sectional interrelations and the entire political system of which they form part, but this cannot easily be demonstrated. It has been noted that the smaller the local group the more cohesive it is and the more contacts of various kinds its members have with one another. There is less solidarity the wider we extend the circle from a village to adjacent tribes. It might be assumed, therefore, that there is always greater

619 opposition between two groups than between the segments of either and that the segments are held together, as it were, by this external pressure, but we cannot admit that this view accords with the facts, because greater hostility appears to be felt between villages, groups of villages, and tertiary tribal sections than between larger tribal sections and between tribes. Probably the raids conducted tribally and in tribal federation against the Dinka had an integrating action, but the Dinka were not aggressive against the Nuer and it seems that the maintenance of tribal structure must rather be attributed to opposition between its minor segments than to any outside pressure. If this be so, and a consideration of the institution of the feud suggests that it is so, we arrive at the conclusion that the more multiple and frequent the contacts between members of a segment the more intense the opposition between its parts. However paradoxical this conclusion may at first seem we are led to it both by observation and by reflection on what constitutes a segmentary system.

IV

628 We have used the term 'feud' in the last section in the sense of lengthy mutual hostility between local communities within a tribe. This broad and slightly vague usage seems justified by convention and also, as we shall show, because, although responsibility for homicide and the duty of exacting vengeance directly fall only on the close agnatic kin of slayer and slain, the communities to which the two parties belong are, in one way or another, involved in the hostility that ensues and, often enough, in any fighting that may result from the dispute. Strictly, however, the word might be considered more appropriately used to describe the relations between the kin on both sides in a situation of homicide, for it then refers to a specific institution. We sometimes, therefore, speak of the 'blood-feud' to emphasize this restricted and more clearly defined meaning.

Blood-feuds are a tribal institution, for they can only occur where a breach of law is recognized since they are the way in which reparation is obtained. Fear of incurring a blood-feud is, in fact, the most important legal sanction within a tribe and the main guarantee of an individual's life and property. If a com-

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The feud is a political institution, being an approved and regulated mode of behaviour between communities within a tribe. The balanced opposition between tribal segments and their complementary tendencies towards fission and fusion, which we have seen to be a structural principle, is evident in the institution of the feud which, on the one hand, gives expression to the hostility by occasional and violent action that serves to keep the sections apart, and, on the other hand, by the means provided for settlement, prevents opposition developing into complete fission. The tribal constitution requires both elements of a feud, the need for vengeance and the means of settlement. The means of settlement is the leopard-skin chief, whose role we shall examine later. We therefore regard the feud as essential to the political system as it exists at present. Between tribes there can only be war, and through war, the memory of war, and the potentiality of war the relations between tribes are defined and expressed. Within a tribe fighting always produces feuds, and a relation of feud is characteristic of tribal segments and gives to the tribal structure a movement of expansion and contraction.

There is, of course, no clear-cut distinction between fighting against another tribe and fighting against a segment of one's own tribe. Nuer, however, stress that the possibility of arbitration and payment of blood-wealth for deaths resulting from a fight within a tribe makes it a *ter*, feud, and that this is different from a fight between tribes, *kur*, in which no claims for compensation would be recognized. Both differ from raiding of Dinka, *pec*, and from individual duelling, *dwac*, though all fighting is *kur* in a general sense. But it is obvious that a fight in a village which at once leads to payment of compensation for deaths and a fight between tribes in which there is no compensation for deaths are two poles, and that the further we go from a village community the fights between tribal sections become more like fights between tribes in that blood-wealth is paid with increasing difficulty and infrequency, so that between primary sections the tribal value, the feeling that blood-wealth can, and even ought to, be paid, alone distinguishes their fights from fights between tribes. Here again we would emphasize the conclusion that the tribal value is relative to the structural situation.

628 We would emphasize further that blood-feuds only directly
182 involve a few persons and that though they sometimes cause
619 violence between whole local communities—a feud in a wider sense—ordinary social contacts continue in spite of them. The strands of kinship and affinity, of age-set affiliations, and of military and even economic interests remain unbroken; and these strands act like elastic between the sections, being capable of considerable expansion by disturbed political relations, but always pulling the communities together and keeping them as a single group in relation to other groups of the same kind. As we have explained, these strands lessen in number and strength the larger the community, but they stretch even beyond tribal frontiers. Increasing anarchy, increasing difficulty in settling feuds, goes together with lessening frequency of social contacts of all kinds. Social cohesion increases as the size of the community narrows.

VIII

671 There are, of course, disputes between Nuer other than
627 those about homicides, but they can be treated briefly and in direct relation to homicide and the feud. In a strict sense Nuer have no law. There are conventional compensations for damage, adultery, loss of limb, and so forth, but there is no authority with power to adjudicate on such matters or to enforce a verdict. In Nuerland legislative, judicial, and executive functions are not invested in any persons or councils. Between members of different tribes there is no question of redress; and even within a tribe, in my experience, wrongs are not brought forward in what we would call a legal form, though compensation for damage (*ruok*) is sometimes paid. A man who considers that he has suffered loss at the hands of another cannot sue the man who has caused it, because there is no court in which to cite him, even were he willing to attend it. I lived in intimacy for a year with Nuer and never heard a case brought before an
671 individual or a tribunal of any kind, and, furthermore, I reached
627 the conclusion that it is very rare for a man to obtain redress
177 except by force or threat of force. The recent introduction of Government courts, before which disputes are now sometimes

792 earth. They state that in the old days there were no prophets; only the ritual officials mentioned earlier. The records of European travellers are not explicit enough to confirm or reject this statement. Poncet says that among the Nuer in his day were rich and important persons, honoured after their death, whom he calls *devins ou sorciers* and *jongleurs*,[1] and Brun-Rollet says that the Nuer had a kind of pope for whom they had veneration akin to worship, but his account is too fanciful to carry weight.[2] Whilst it is difficult to believe that there were

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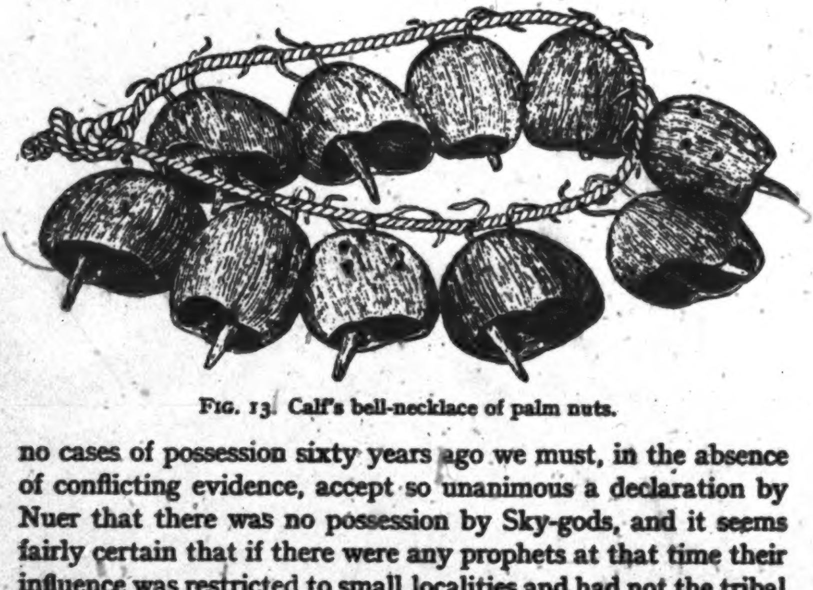

FIG. 13. Calf's bell-necklace of palm nuts.

no cases of possession sixty years ago we must, in the absence of conflicting evidence, accept so unanimous a declaration by Nuer that there was no possession by Sky-gods, and it seems fairly certain that if there were any prophets at that time their influence was restricted to small localities and had not the tribal [177] significance of more recent times. There is some evidence that the development of Nuer prophets was related to the spread of Mahdism from the Northern Sudan. However that may be, there is no doubt that powerful prophets arose about the time when Arab intrusion into Nuerland was at its height and that after the reconquest of the Sudan they were more respected and had more influence than any other persons in Nuerland.

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•619 Nevertheless, we consider that the power of these prophets, even of the most successful ones, has been exaggerated and that

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[1] Poncet, op. cit., p. 40.

[2] Brun-Rollet, op. cit., p. 222.

792 619 their tribal position has been misunderstood. The earliest Government officials to enter Lou country have recorded that Ngundeng was greatly feared and respected and were of the opinion that if the Lou were to be administered he would have either to be reconciled or removed. However, his son, Gwek, was not supported against the Government by some sections of the tribe. Mr. Struvé, then Governor of the Upper Nile Province, reported that Dwal, son of Diu, had 'rather shaky authority' among the Gaawar. I received the impression in 1932 that Buom had far more power in Dok country as a government chief than he ever had in pre-government days as a prophet. A prophet's curse is feared, but armed intervention of Government forces is a weightier sanction. Buom was attempting to exercise unprecedented judicial functions and his banishment met with no popular hostility and with little regret. There is no good evidence that the earlier prophets were more than spiritual persons, whose ritual powers were used particularly in warfare, though some of the later ones appear to have begun to settle disputes, at any rate in their own villages and districts. Of them all, perhaps Gwek came nearest to exercising political functions and to imposing his authority outside his own district, but the hostility between tribes and between tribal segments rendered effective personal control impossible.

792 721 619 The only activities of prophets which can truly be called tribal were their initiation of raids against the Dinka and their rallying of opposition to Arab and European aggression, and it is in these actions that we see their structural significance and account for their emergence and the growth of their influence. All the important prophets about whom we have information gained their prestige by directing successful raids on the Dinka, for these raids were carried out in the names of the spirits which promised rich booty by their lips. No extensive raids were undertaken without the permission and guidance of prophets, who received instructions from the Sky-gods in dreams and trances about the time and objective of attack, and often they accompanied them in person and performed sacrifices before battle. They took for themselves part of the spoil and to some extent supervised the division of the rest of it. The warriors sang war hymns to the Sky-gods before starting on raids and the

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sacrifices to them by their prophets were believed to ensure 721
booty and safety. 619

For the first time a single person symbolized, if only to a moderate degree and in a mainly spiritual and uninstitutionalized form, the unity of a tribe, for prophets are tribal figures. But they have a further significance, for their influence extended over tribal boundaries. Gwek had great influence in Gaajok, and it is said that because of it the Lou and the Gaajok for a time paid compensation for homicide between them. His influence reached as far as the Eastern Gaagwang and Gaajak. Dengleaka had a similar influence in the valley of the Zeraf, especially among the Thiang. Some of the Western Nuer prophets had a 792
reputation among a number of neighbouring tribes which united
for raids at the direction of their spirits. They were not a 648
mechanism of tribal structure like leopard-skin chiefs, but were 178
pivots of federation between adjacent tribes and personified the structural principle of opposition in its widest expression, the unity and homogeneity of Nuer against foreigners. Probably, the coalition of tribes and the organization of joint raids is very largely their achievement—though one cannot be sure of this in the absence of historical records—and has made them important and powerful figures in Nuerland. This interpretation explains how it is that prophets began half a century ago, or at any rate came to the fore then. Certain structural changes were taking place in response to changed conditions: the development of functions that were more purely political than any exercised by individuals before and of a greater degree of unity among neighbouring tribes than there had been hitherto. As Sky-gods passed at the death of prophets into their sons we are further justified in suggesting growth of hereditary political leadership which, with the strong tendency towards federation between adjacent tribes we attribute to the new Arab-European menace. Opposition between Nuer and their neighbours had always been sectional. They were now confronted by a more formidable and a common enemy. When the Government crushed the prophets this tendency was checked. As we understand the situation, the prophets were inevitably opposed to the Government because it was this opposition among the people which led to their emergence and was personified in them.

611 612 In normal usage the word refers to close relatives only. Therefore, as *mar* includes close agnates, the word *buth* is used only in reference to distant agnates, between whom and the speaker there is lineage cleavage. There is *buth* relationship between lineages of the same clan and also between related clans which have the same ancestor but do not compose an exogamous unit. A Dinka can be given *buth* relationship to a Nuer lineage by being adopted into a collateral lineage. We thus formally distinguish between the lineage system, which is a system of agnatic groups, and the kinship system, which is a system of categories of relationship to any individual; and we speak of these relationships as a man's paternal kin and his maternal kin, and both together as his kindred.

613 619 Political and lineage groups are not identical, but they have a certain correspondence and often bear the same name, for a tribal area and its divisions are often called after the clans and lineages which are supposed to have first occupied them. This makes their inter-relation a very difficult problem to investigate and has led to some confusion in writings on the Nuer. Thus Gaawar is the name of a tribal area, of the tribesmen who inhabit it, and of the members of a clan which have in that area a socially dominant status. Likewise Gaajok and Gaajak are names of territories, tribes, and lineages. To clarify description clan and lineage names are therefore printed in small capitals. Hence, when we say that a man is a Gaawar we mean that he is a Gaawar tribesman, a man who resides in Gaawar country, whereas when we say that he is a GAAWAR we mean that he is a member of the GAAWAR clan, a descendant in the male line from War, the founder of the dominant clan in Gaawar country.

II

613 614 Three trees of clan descent are presented in the following section in a form conventional to us, and which would also commend itself to Nuer, who sometimes speak of a lineage as *kar*, a branch, as illustrations of the way in which lineages split up, each being a branch of a larger one. The JINACA are the dominant clan in the Lou and Rengyan tribes, the GATGANKIIR are the dominant clan in the Jikany tribes, and the (GAA)THIANG

giving the name of a tertiary tribal section. If you continue to 613 interrogate him he will inform you that *cieng* Leng is part of *cieng* Gaatbal, a secondary tribal section, and that *cieng* Gaatbal is a 621 division of the Gun primary section of the Lou tribe. But he has told you nothing about his clan affiliation. He may or may not be a member of the PUAL lineage, which forms part of the LENG lineage, which forms part of the GAATBAL lineage, which is part of the clan of JINACA or GAATGANNACA, the people of Nac or the children of the children of Nac. In the same way, if a Jikany man tells you that he belongs to *cieng* Kwith of the Gaajok it does not follow that he is descended from Kwe (Kwith) who is descended from Jok the founder of the GAAJOK lineage of the GAATGANKIIR clan, the children of the children of Kir. He may merely mean that he lives in a tribal section occupied by the KWITH lineage of this clan. But these men will not tell you that they are not members of the dominant lineages in these sections, and will allow you to assume that they are, for in community relations there is a degree of linguistic assimilation of all residents other than members of the dominant lineage to that lineage, and people do not wish the fact that they are strangers in the tribal area to be publicly stressed, especially if they are of Dinka origin.

The assimilation of community ties to lineage structure, the expression of territorial affiliation in a lineage idiom, and the expression of lineage affiliation in terms of territorial attachments, is what makes the lineage system so significant for a study of political organization.

V

In emphasizing the relations between lineages and local com- 613 munities we speak mainly of those lineages which are segments of the dominant clans in the different tribes. It is these which 619 have the greater political importance. We speak of them more fully in later sections. Here we give a preliminary account of how they are associated with tribal segments and how they act in those segments as a framework of the political structure.

The two diagrams which follow show the main lineages of the dominant clans among the Lou and Eastern Jikany tribes and the larger tribal sections in which they are dominant. The lines of descent are traced only as far as is necessary to illustrate the argument which follows. They may be compared with the trees

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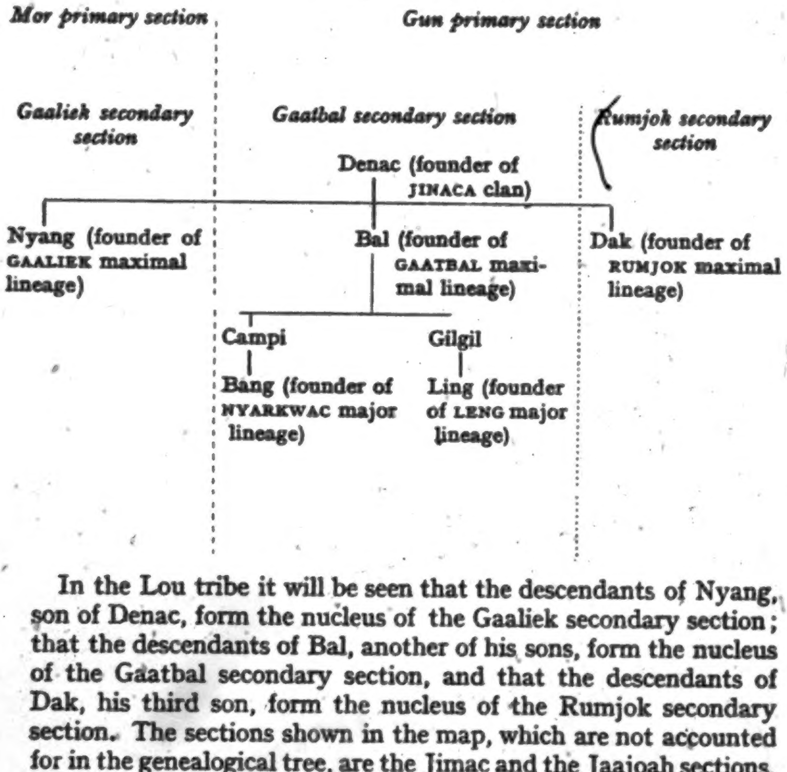
619

of descent of the two clans,[1] and with the maps on pp. 56 and 58, which show the distribution of the sections of the two tribes.

LOU TRIBE


Mor primary section
Gun primary section
Gaaliek secondary section
Gaatbal secondary section
Rumjok secondary section
Denac (founder of JINACA clan)
Nyang (founder of GAALIEK maximal lineage)
Bal (founder of GAATBAL maximal lineage)
Dak (founder of RUMJOK maximal lineage)
Campi
Gilgil
Bang (founder of NYARKWAC major lineage)
Ling (founder of LENG major lineage)

In the Lou tribe it will be seen that the descendants of Nyang, son of Denac, form the nucleus of the Gaaliek secondary section; that the descendants of Bal, another of his sons, form the nucleus of the Gaatbal secondary section, and that the descendants of Dak, his third son, form the nucleus of the Rumjok secondary section. The sections shown in the map, which are not accounted for in the genealogical tree, are the Jimac and the Jaajoah sections, which have clan nuclei of foreign origin. It must be made clear that when a tribal section is called after a lineage it does not mean that all members of the lineage live in it, though probably most of them do, and it certainly does not mean that they alone live in it, for investigations show that they form only a small minority in the total population of the section. Large stranger lineages are included in the area designated by a title taken from any of the sons of Denac, e.g. the THIANG lineage in the Gaatbal primary section. Also there are innumerable small lineages of Nuer strangers and of Dinka clustered around lineages of GAATNACA descent. Thus, if one visits the villages and cattle camps called after lineages which spring from the GAALIEK maximal lineage, e.g. the lineages of JAANYEN and KUOK, one will find them occupied by a relatively small number of persons of these lineages,

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[1] [See pp. 196-97, cat. 116 —Analyst]

while most of the residents will be found to have sprung from other 613 Nuer and Dinka clans. Thus, at the cattle camp at Muot Dit in 1930 there were not only various minimal lineages of the RUE 619 branch of the RUMJOK maximal lineage of the GAATNACA clan, the 'owners' of the site, but also a KAANG lineage from Lang country, a KAN lineage from Bul country, a KONG lineage from Lang country, all segments of clans dominant to the west of the Nile, and many Dinka lineages. Likewise at the village of Parkur in Leek country in 1930 hamlets were occupied by a NYAPIR lineage of the dominant GAATBOL clan, a CUOR lineage of Dinka which has close association with the JIKUL clan, a GENG lineage from Beegh country, a RUAL lineage from Bul country, a KWACUKUNA lineage of the JIMEM clan, and other lineages.

The descendants of Jok[1]–Kir form the aristocratic nucleus of the Gaajok tribe; the descendants of Thiang[2]–Kir and Kun–Kir form the aristocratic nucleus of the Gaajak tribe; and the descendants of Gwang–Jok and Nyang–Thiang together form the aristocratic nucleus of the Gaagwang tribe. On the map on p. 58 the names of these lineages figure as tribal sections, for they have given their names to the areas in which they are dominant. Thus the names of three major lineages descended from Jok, LAANG, YOL, and WANGKAC appear on the map as Laang, Yol, and Wangkac. None of the foreign lineages is of sufficient size to give its name to a large tribal division, though they give their names to small sections and villages.[3] Here again, it must not be supposed that the descendants of Jok form more than a fragment of the Gaajok tribe. In the same way the Gaagwang tribe comprises many foreign elements which probably far outnumber the descendants of Nyang–Thiang and Gwang–Jok. The same applies to the Gaajak tribe. The GAAGWONG lineage is so closely associated with the GAAJAK lineage in tribal life that they form together a twin nucleus of the Gaajak tribe. The secondary sections of Lony, Kang, and Tar, shown on the map, are all called after lineages which spring from Thiang–Kir. Likewise the secondary sections of Nyayan, Cany, and Wau are all called after lineages which spring from Kun–Kir. Hence the only section in the map not accounted for

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[1] Also called Majok.

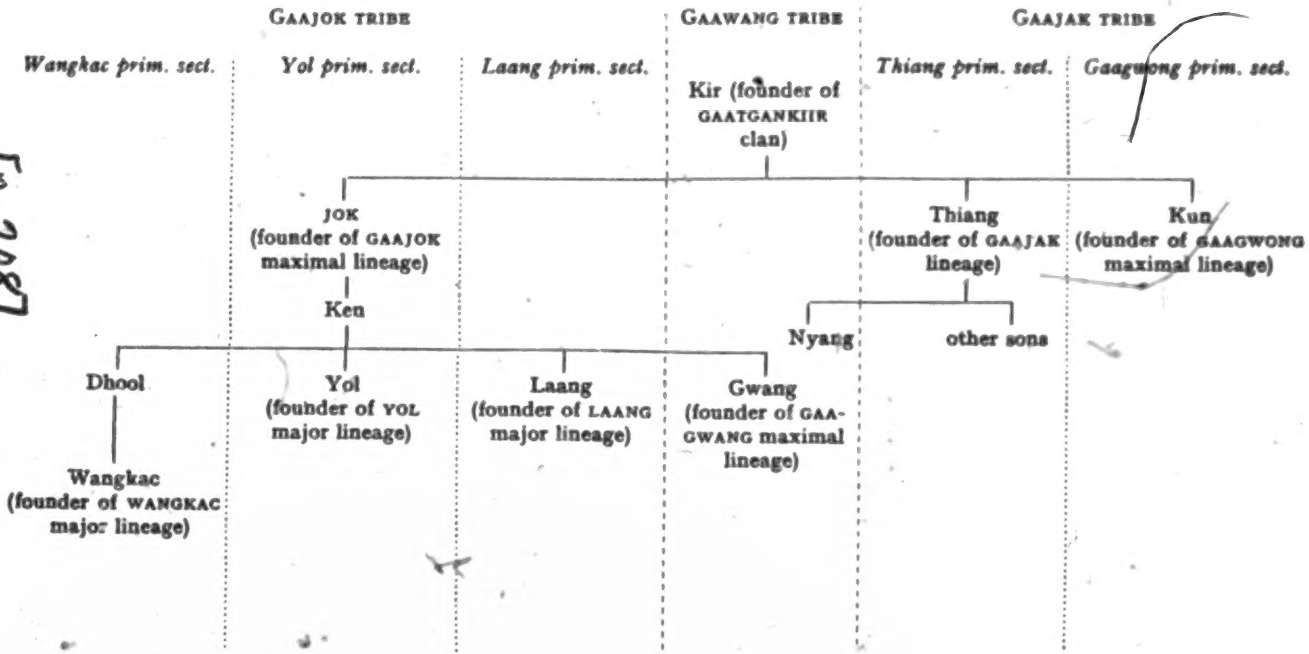
[2] Also called Mathiang.

[3] Village-names are generally place-names and not names of lineages, but one may refer to the communities by the names of their chief lineages. It often happens that these lineages are of stranger or Dinka descent, and though the communities may be referred to by their names, it is recognized that the sites belong to lineages of the dominant clan of the tribe. Hence a village may be associated with two lineages. Thus the JUAK, NGWOL, &c., of the Leek tribe are stranger or Dinka lineages after whom village communities are called, but the sites are the land of the KEUNYANG lineage, and they alone are *diel* in them. [103]

[p. 208 contains no textual material]

613
619

JIKANY TRIBES


GAAJOK TRIBE
GAAWANG TRIBE
GAAJAK TRIBE
Wangkac prim. sect.
Yol prim. sect.
Laang prim. sect.
Thiang prim. sect.
Gaagwong prim. sect.
Kir (founder of GAATGANKIIR clan)
JOK (founder of GAAJOK maximal lineage)
Thiang (founder of GAAJAK lineage)
Kun (founder of GAAGWONG maximal lineage)
Ken
Nyang
other sons
Dhool
Yol (founder of YOL major lineage)
Laang (founder of LAANG major lineage)
Gwang (founder of GAA-GWANG maximal lineage)
Wangkac (founder of WANGKAC major lineage)

[p.208]

613

in the diagram is the primary section of Reng, the Kong and
Dhilleak divisions of which have clan nuclei of different origin to 619
the other sections.

In all these tribes and tribal sections there is much admixture 613
of lineages in communities. The same conditions are found in
the Zeraf valley and also, and perhaps to a larger degree, in 619
Western Nuerland. Nuer say that feuds and quarrels between 166
lineages chiefly led to their dispersal, and they can cite many examples. Thus the descendants of Nyang–Thiang left the other sons of Thiang and joined the people with whom they form the Gaagwang tribe, and the NYARUNY lineage left their kinsmen of the Thiang primary section and joined the Reng primary section of the Gaajak tribe. After fights, a whole community, led by its dominant lineage, may in this way move to a different section or tribe and take up permanent residence with them. Migration led to further dispersal, since some lineages remained in the homeland to the west of the Nile and others crossed the Nile and Zeraf and settled to the east of these rivers. Nuer say that in the earliest stages of the migration the warriors used to raid Dinka and return home to their kinsmen after each raid. Then they settled to the east, but kept in close contact with the people of their lineage to the west. But as they shifted farther away the contact lessened and finally, in most cases, ceased altogether. When lineages migrated they must already have been nuclei of heterogeneous accretions and not exclusive groups of agnates: but admixture was no doubt hastened and made more complete by movement.

Two factors other than migration, quarrels, intermarriage, 181
&c., have probably contributed to the dispersal of lineages.
The Nuer are mainly a pastoral people with dominant pastoral 771
interests and do not feel themselves bound by economic necessity or by ritual ties to any particular spot. Where his cattle are is the Nuer's home; his hearth is the droppings of his cattle and his altar a light pole (*riek*) which he plants wherever he may wander. The spirits which give him protection and the ancestral ghosts that watch over his welfare are no more bound to the soil than he is and they are present wherever are the herds. Beasts
dedicated to ghosts and spirits are his wandering shrines. Also 769
the Nuer have no organized cult of ancestral ghosts. The dead

613 and become attached to larger and stronger lineages by processes
621 which we will explain later.

Nevertheless, a Nuer lineage never entirely merges into
613 another clan. There are always certain ritual observances
621 which cannot be shared. If intermarriage creates community
614 ties between two lineages, it likewise keeps them distinct, since
[582] one may only marry those who are not of one's agnatic group,
and even if two lineages intermarry to such an extent that cognatic relationship is a bar to further marriage between them, then each may marry into collateral lineages of the other's clan and children of their daughters. If a mythological link forges a closer union between them it is also a record of their different lines of descent, explaining, indeed, how people of divergent descent are living together amicably. Thus a lineage, however far removed from its homeland and however widely separated from its kinsfolk, never becomes entirely absorbed or loses its ritual heritage. A lineage can only merge with a collateral lineage of the same clan.

But though lineages maintain their autonomy, the lineage value only operates in the restricted field of ceremonial and is, therefore, only occasionally a determinant of behaviour. Community values are those which constantly direct behaviour, and these operate in a different set of social situations to lineage values. While lineage values control ceremonial relations between groups of agnates, community values control political relations between groups of people living in separate villages, tribal sections, and tribes. The two kinds of value control distinct planes of social life.

It is, as we explain in the following sections, only the close association between a tribe and its dominant clan, and lineages in one way or another related to this dominant clan, that makes the agnatic principle in lineage structure politically important, for these lineages function as values in the political system which gives them corporate substance.

VI

614 In spite of so much dispersion and admixture of clans there is
in every tribe a definite relation between its political structure
619 and the clan system, for in each tribe a clan, or a maximal lineage

614 619 of a clan, is associated with the political group in which it occupies a dominant position among the other agnatic groups that live in it. Moreover, each of its segments tends to be associated with a segment of the tribe in such a way that there is a correspondence, and often linguistic identification, between the parts of a clan and the parts of a tribe. Thus, if we compare the diagram on p. 144[2] with that on p. 193[1] and suppose clan A to be the dominant clan in tribe B, then maximal lineages B and C correspond to primary sections X and Y, major lineages D and E correspond to secondary sections X^1 and X^2, major lineages F and G correspond to secondary sections Y^1 and Y^2, and minor lineages J and K correspond to tertiary sections Z^1 and Z^2. Minimal lineages are associated with villages composing the tertiary sections. It is for this reason that we have spoken of the dominant clan as forming a framework on which the political system of the tribe is built up through a complex series of kinship links. The system of lineages of the dominant clan is a conceptual skeleton on which the local communities are built up into an organization of related parts, or, as we would prefer to state it, a system of values linking tribal segments and providing the idiom in which their relations can be expressed and directed.

614 619 565 The JINACA of Lou country lived originally with their kinsmen the JINACA of Rengyan country to the west of the Nile, but they split off from them and, having crossed the Nile, conquered present-day Lou country. Here they were the first occupants, or at any rate the strongest element among the first occupants. Probably JINACA men frequently crossed the Nile to join their kinsmen to the east and amalgamated with them. Such persons would at once be members of the dominant clan and be spoken of as *diel*, members of the aristocratic group of lineages. But members of other clans which settled in Lou country during or after the occupation were classed as strangers (*rul*). In the same manner those lineages of the GAATGANKIIR clan who crossed the Nile and settled to the north of the Sobat held there a privileged position among other Nuer who joined them.

Every Nuer tribe has in this way its *diel*, its superior clan, though in the case of some tribes we are not certain of the correct designation of these clans. Among the Gaawar they are the GAAWAR, among the Thiang the (GAA)THIANG, among the Leek the GAATBOL, among the Wot, and probably also among the Ror, the

[2, 1] [See cat. 116 — Analyst]

JIDIET, and among the Begh the JIKOI, &c. Where the correct clan 614
name is unknown one may refer to these dominant elements as the
aristocrats (*diel*) or the 'bulls' (*tut*) of such-and-such a tribe, as the 619 •
Nuer themselves frequently do, e.g. a *dil* or *tut* Bura, an aristocrat 565
of the Bor tribe, *dil* or *tut* Wotni, an aristocrat of the Wot tribe, *dil* or *tut* Beeka, an aristocrat of the Beegh tribe, *dil* or *tut* Laka, an aristocrat of the Lak tribe, &c. One may always speak of an aristocratic clan or lineage by its proper name or by reference to the tribe in which it has a privileged position, e.g. GAATNACA, children of Nac, or *diel* Looka, aristocrats of the Lou tribe, GAATBOL, children of Bul, or *diel* Leegni, aristocrats of the Leek tribe.

There are four essential points to be remembered about these aristocratic clans. (1) Not every clan has superior status in a tribe. Some clans, e.g. the JIMEM and the JAKAR, have no *wec*, no local community, as the Nuer say. Others have village-sites where they have resided for a long time and which are called after them, but they are not *diel* in the tribe where these sites are found. Many are like cuttings which have lost all contact with the parent stem, but these may at once be designated Dinka lineages that have sprung from immigrants, whose descendants sometimes know the Dinka country of their origin but do not know their position in its system of lineages. Consequently they cannot trace ascent for as many generations as true Nuer, and their lineages are narrower in range and territorially more restricted. One finds them in little local pockets in a single tribe, whereas the Nuer clans are distributed throughout many tribes.

(2) Not every member of a Nuer clan lives in the tribe where it has superior status, for most clans are found in all parts of Nuerland. Most JINACA live in Lou and Rengyan tribal areas, where they are *diel*, but many are also found among the Eastern Jikany tribes and elsewhere. Likewise, most GAAWAR live in Gaawar country, but they are also found in most, perhaps all, Nuer tribes. Tribes are territorial groups with an unbroken social extension, whereas clans are kinship groups dispersed far and wide. Consequently a tribe is a community and can have corporate functions, but a clan is never a community and can never act corporately. The Lou tribe unite for war. The JINACA never unite. Also a man can change his tribe by changing his place of residence, but he can never change his clan. A

614 Lou man who goes to live in Gaawar country becomes a Gaawar
● 619 man. A JINACA man remains a NAC wherever he lives.

565 (3) A clan is, as we have earlier emphasized, not numerically preponderant in the tribe where it is dominant, e.g. the JINACA are only a small minority in the Lou tribe and the GAAJOK lineage are only a small minority in the Gaajok tribe.

(4) A man is a *dil*, aristocrat, only in the one tribe where his clan has superior status. Thus a *dil Leegni*, an aristocrat of the Leek tribe, is an aristocrat there and nowhere else. If he goes to live in Bul country or in one of the Jikany countries he is no longer a *dil* but a *rul*, stranger. In the same way a member of the JINACA is a *dil* in Lou country, but if he goes, as many of his clan do, to reside in Gaajok country, he is not a *dil* there but a stranger, *rul*. The JINACA are *diel* Looka, but the GAAJOK are *diel* Gaajok. The status of *diel* is dependent on residence on land owned by their clan. The only exception to this statement is to be found in such cases where a clan is dominant in two or more tribes, e.g. the JINACA in Lou and Rengyan and the GAATGANKIIR in the Jikany countries to the west and to the east of the Bahr el Jebel. If a man of the JINACA moves from Rengyan to Lou he still remains a *dil*, because both countries belong to his clan. Likewise a man of the GAAJOK lineage of the GAATGANKIIR can move from Gaajok to Gaagwang, or Gaajak, country, on either side of the Nile, and still remain a *dil*, for various lineages of his clan are dominant in all these tribes.

Like most words which denote sociological status, *dil* is used by Nuer in various contexts with various meanings. In this book it is used with the precise meaning given to it in the preceding paragraphs. It is, however, permissible to use the word to denote a true member of any lineage, whether dominant in the tribe or not. For example, the JUAK lineage of the Leek tribe are of Dinka origin and are not *diel Leegni*, but a man who dwells among them can obviously be either a *dil Juaka*, a true member of the JUAK lineage, or a person who has attached himself to them for some reason or other. In the same manner one may speak of a *dil* JIMEM, although there is no tribe in which the JIMEM have the status of *diel*, for a man may be a true member of the clan or a Dinka who has attached himself to it. Also a member of the JINACA who leaves Lou and settles in Gaajok still remains a *gat dila Looka*, a child of Lou aristocracy, and will call himself such, meaning that when he is in Lou country he is an aristocrat.

614 619 565 The words '*tut*' or '*gat twot*', son of a bull, are used in the same manner as '*dil*' and '*gat dila*'. Here again a man may be a *tut* of his lineage, in contrast to accretions of strangers and Dinka who live in the district associated with it, without being a *tut* of the tribe of which that district forms part, e.g. a man may be a *tut* of the Jaajoah secondary section of the Lou tribe without being a *tut Looka*, because the aristocratic clan of the whole of Lou country are the JINACA, and the JAAJOAH are not members of this clan. In other words a man may call himself a *tut* of the Jaajoah to emphasize that he is a JAAJOAH and not merely a Jaajoah, but he does not thereby imply that he is a *tut Looka*. In a still more general sense *tut* may, as we have noted, merely mean a paterfamilias or even a male person. One must judge from the context how the expression should be translated. In this book we use the words *tut* or *gat twot* in the sense, defined on pp. 179–80,* of an elder, and we use the word *dil* to refer to a tribal aristocrat.

619 565 554 It is difficult to find an English word that adequately describes the social position of *diel* in a tribe. We have called them aristocrats, but do not wish to imply that Nuer regard them as of superior rank, for, as we have emphatically declared, the idea of a man lording it over others is repugnant to them. On the whole—we will qualify the statement later—the *diel* have prestige rather than rank and influence rather than power. If you are a *dil* of the tribe in which you live you are more than a simple tribesman. You are one of the owners of the country, its village sites, its pastures, its fishing pools and wells. Other people live there in virtue of marriage into your clan, adoption into your lineage, or of some other social tie. You are a leader of the tribe and the spear-name of your clan is invoked when the tribe goes to war. Wherever there is a *dil* in a village, the village clusters around him as a herd of cattle clusters around its bull.

I have described the position of *diel* as I judged it to be among the Lou tribe. I had the impression that to the west of the Nile their status was less pronounced, whereas among the Eastern Jikany tribes, on the periphery of Nuer expansion, it was more emphasized. In the Karlual area of the Leek tribe, the only part of western Nuerland I know more than superficially, the aristocratic prestige of a *dil* is recognized, but there are clans of strangers so well and long entrenched in the districts and villages in which they are found to-day that a *dil* has no legal privilege.

*[See cat. 116—Analyst]

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619 At a cursory glance, I gathered that conditions were elsewhere
565 the same in western Nuerland, except, perhaps, among the
554 Jikany where the status of *diel* may be more enhanced. Among
the Eastern Jikany one finds the greatest insistence on social differentiation and legal privilege. The category of *diel* tends to be more stressed in the larger tribes than in the smaller, and when its structural function has been examined it will be understood why this is so.

613 In a Nuer village or cattle camp there are seldom more than
621 a few families of *diel*. Most people are either *rul*, Nuer of other
563 clans, or *jaang*, persons of Dinka descent who have not been
565 adopted into Nuer lineages. A *rul* is a Nuer who in a certain
tribe is not a *dil*, though he may be a *dil* in another tribe. I have already described how lineages split off from their localized kinship groups, wander, join persons of other clans, and become members of a new community. This process was well described to me by a man of the Dok tribe. Members of a lineage beget children and they become numerous and spread over the countryside, wandering here, there, and everywhere. Then their close relationship ends and they go to live in the midst of other clans who are distantly related to them. Here they dwell as friends and slowly forge new cognatic relationships by intermarriage. Hence lineages are much mixed in all local communities.

613 Also Nuer say that no *dil* dwells in a social milieu composed
565 entirely of fellow aristocrats, for lineages of *diel* split up and
554 segments seek autonomy by becoming the nuclei of new social
agglomerations in which they are the aristocratic element. Thus lineages of *diel* split up not only on account of internal dissension, but because a man of personality likes to found his independent settlement where he will be an important person rather than remain a younger brother in a group of influential elder relatives. I was told that this process by which any man, especially a *dil*, could become a local leader is felt to be ingrained in their social system and is a reason why they object to the creation by the Government of a few local 'chiefs' whose position tends to become formalized, permanent, and hereditary. To them this is a rigid interpretation of status, based on territorial rather than personal qualifications, which stabilizes the superiority of a single man or lineage. Every man of standing feels that

628 case in questions of homicide, since the social situation was
composed of the structural relations of the slayer and his kin to
681 the dead man and to other people concerned in the dispute.
563 In our opinion the uncertainty and contradiction which was
often evident in the statements of Nuer about assessments of blood-cattle is to be accounted for by relativity of status, it being relative always to the structural distance between persons, and therefore not rigidly definable.

628 Likewise *rul* is a very plastic concept. If a Leek man goes to
Gaajak country to steal cattle and is killed no compensation
681 would be paid for the homicide. A Leek man travelling through
621 Gaajak country without intent to cause loss to its owners would
not wantonly be slain. If the man were visiting kinsmen or affines and was killed in a quarrel, his hosts would consider that they were under an obligation to avenge him, though, perhaps, not under a very strong obligation. But a Leek man who has built his homestead in Gaajak country and has married into the village where he resides is a member of that community. If another member of his village kills him, it may be held that he is a *rul* and therefore his death may be paid for with fewer cattle than that of an aristocrat. But if a member of another village kills him, his community are not likely to accept this definition of status, because one does not differentiate between members of one's community on grounds of descent in its relation with other political segments. In political relations community ties are always dominant and determine behaviour.

VIII

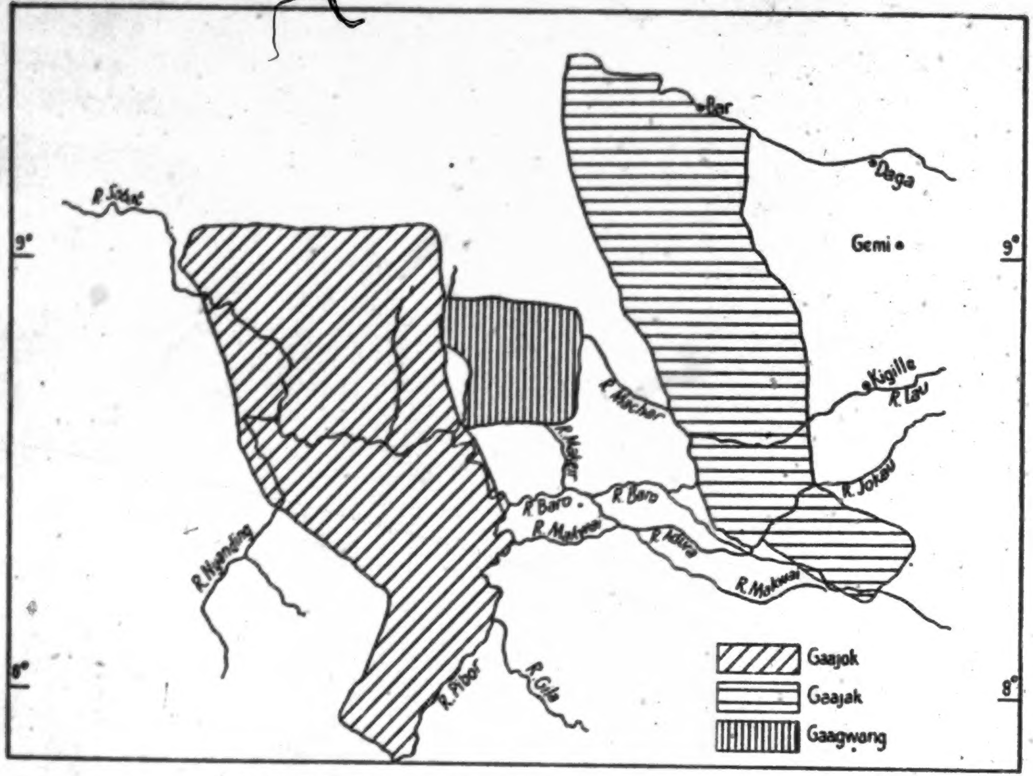
597 We have observed that within a tribe there are three categories of persons: *diel*, *rul*, and *jaang*. The *diel* are an aristo-
563 cratic clan, numerically swamped in the tribe by strangers and
● 619 Dinka, but providing a lineage structure on which the tribal
organization is built up. The problem is how strangers and Dinka are attached to the dominant clan in such a way that the clan becomes, through the relations of other members of the tribe to it, the framework of the political system. As Nuer reckon all social ties in a kinship idiom it is clear that only the recognition of mutual bonds of kinship could lead to this result. Such recognition is accorded in several ways. We will start by

an examination of adoption. A Nuer cannot be adopted into a lineage other than that into which he is born, so that the custom concerns only Dinka. 597 563 619

We have already described how Nuer scorn Dinka and persistently raid them, but they do not treat those Dinka who are permanent members of their community differently from its Nuer members, and we have seen that persons of Dinka descent form probably at least half the population of most tribes. These Dinka are either children of captives and immigrants who have been brought up as Nuer, or are themselves captives and immigrants who are residing permanently among Nuer. They are '*Jaang-Nath*', 'Dinka-Nuer', and, it is said, '*caa Nath*', 'they have become Nuer'. As we have explained, once their membership of a community is recognized, in most of Nuerland, their legal status is the same as that of a free-born Nuer, and it is only in relation to ritual and rules of exogamy that attention is drawn to their origin. In structural relations of a political kind they are undifferentiated members of a segment. Although in his domestic and kinship relations a Dinka has not so strong a position as a Nuer, because he has not the same range of kinship links, I have never observed that they suffer any serious disabilities, far less degradation. In answer to my question whether a captured Dinka would not work harder in the kraal than a son of the family, I was told that he was a son and would enjoy the same privileges as the other sons, being given an ox by his father at initiation and, later, bride-cattle for a wife. The only foreigners who suffer serious social inequality are certain small pockets of Dinka and Anuak who have been conquered but not absorbed into Nuer society and culture. Such pockets, like the Balak Dinka and the Anuak on the Sobat river, enjoy neither the privileges of Nuer citizenship nor the freedom of foreigners. Such pockets do not truly constitute part of a Nuer tribe.

Captured Dinka boys are almost invariably incorporated into the lineage of their Nuer captors by the rite of adoption, and they then rank as sons in lineage structure as well as in family relations, and when the daughters of that lineage are married they receive bride-cattle. A Dinka boy is brought up as a child of his captor's household. He is already incorporated into the family and joint family by his acceptance as a member of these 597 613

[p. 233]


R. Sobat
Bar
Daga
Gemi
9°
9°
R. Macher
R. Makar
Kigille
R. Lau
R. Jokau
R. Baro
R. Baro
R. Makwei
R. Adura
R. Mokwai
R. Nyanding
R. Pibor
R. Gila
8°
8°
Gaajok
Gaajak
Gaagwong

The Eastern Jikany tribes. (*After Mr. C. L. Armstrong.*)

102
619

alluding to him as such in ordinary social life, for it is in rare 602
situations that his being other than an aristocrat is relevant: to 609
some extent in payment of blood-cattle, in questions of exogamy,
and at sacrifices and feasts. A stranger who has made his home 554
with aristocrats is treated as a social equal and regards himself as such. People do not call him a *rul*, for he is a member of their community. They may even refer to him as a *dil* out of politeness. In the same way people do not refer to an adopted Dinka as '*Jaang*'; for he is by adoption a brother of aristocrats or of Nuer of other lineages. One would not ordinarily speak of unadopted Dinka residents as '*Jaang*', but as '*rul*'. Just as strangers tend to be linguistically assimilated to aristocrats, so Dinka tend to be assimilated to strangers, and people speak only of unconquered Dinka of Dinkaland by the contemptuous expression '*Jaang*'. Nuer do not make distinctions of status between people who live with them, share their fights, partake of their hospitality, and are members of their community against other communities. Community of living overrides differentiation of descent.

We again emphasize that the designations 'aristocrat', 'stranger', and 'Dinka' in a Nuer tribe are relative terms, being defined by the relations of persons in the social structure in specific situations of social life. A man is a stranger, or Dinka, in reference to a few, mainly ritual, situations, but is not indicated as such on other occasions; and a man is a stranger or Dinka in relation to members of a social group, but is not considered by them to have a differentiated status in relation to another group. A stranger is a stranger to you, your stranger, but is one of you *vis-à-vis* other people. A Dinka is a Dinka to you, your Dinka, but he is your brother *vis-à-vis* other people. In political structure all members of a segment are essentially undifferentiated in its relation to other segments.

How can it be explained that among a people so democratic 619
in sentiment and so ready to express it in violence a clan is
given superior status in each tribe? We believe that the facts 614
we have recorded provide an answer in terms of tribal structure. 565
Many Nuer tribes are large in area and population—some of them very large—and they are more than territorial expressions, for we have shown that they have a complex segmentary structure which the Nuer themselves see as a system. As there are no

● 619 tribal chiefs and councils, or any other form of tribal government,
we have to seek elsewhere for the organizing principle
614 within the structure which gives it conceptual consistency and
565 a certain measure of actual cohesion, and we find it in aristocratic
status. In the absence of political institutions providing
central administration in a tribe and co-ordinating its segments,
it is the system of lineages of its dominant clan which gives it
structural distinctness and unity by the association of lineage
values, within a common agnatic structure, with the segments
of a territorial system. In the absence of a chief or king, who
might symbolize a tribe, its unity is expressed in the idiom of
lineage and clan affiliation.

XII

619 In the Kir myth not only are the ancestors of important
lineages, and, through them, the lineages and the territorial
614 segments in which they are incorporated brought into relationship,
173 but the ancestors of clans, and, through them, the clans
773 and the tribes in which these clans are dominant, are linked
together. Thus Kir, in various versions of the myth, is adopted
by Gee, the founder of the GAATGANGEEKA family of clans;
meets Wot, in whom the Wot tribe is personified; has relations
with the GAAWAR; and so forth. The myth, thus, also mirrors
intertribal relations and brings the whole of Nuerland into a
single kinship structure, which we call the clan system as distinct
from the lineage system of a clan.

173 The clan is the farthest range to which agnatic kinship is
traced when the marriage of two persons is in question, but
773 some clans have, nevertheless, an agnatic relationship to other
614 clans, though Nuer do not regard it quite in the same way as
relationship between lineages of a clan. They give the impression,
when speaking of the ancestor of a clan, that they regard
him as an historical figure, clearly delineated against a background
of tradition, while, when speaking of the ancestor of a
family of clans, they seem to regard him as a vaguer figure
obscured in the dimness of myth.

614 We here note again that the dominant lineages in more than
613 one tribe sometimes form part of the same clan structure. Thus,
619 the lineages dominant in the Gaajok, Gaajak, and Gaagwang

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

614 613 ● 619 tribes, to the east and to the west of the Nile, are all segments of the GAATGANKIIR clan. Also the dominant lineages of the Rengyan tribe, to the west of the Nile, and the Lou tribe, to the east of the Zeraf, are part of the JINACA clan. This distribution is easily accounted for, because we know that till recently the Eastern GAATGANKIIR and the Eastern JINACA lineages lived with the other lineages of these clans in the Jikany and Rengyan areas to the west of the Nile.

[415]

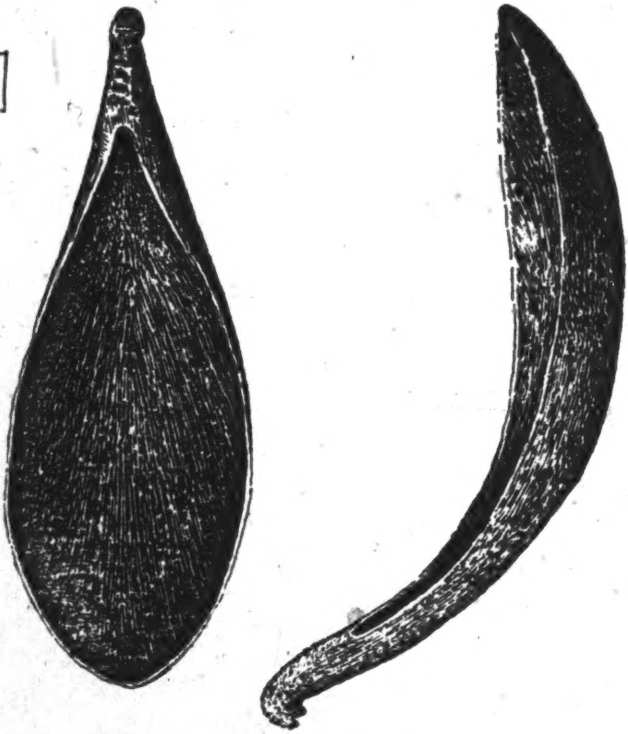


FIG. 14. Buffalo-horn spoons.

773 There are also more general and mythological relationships between clans. In recounting these relationships Nuer personify the tribes and give them a kinship value by assimilating them to their dominant clans. Thus, they speak of Bor, Lang, Lou, Thiang, Lak, &c., as though they were persons and could have kinship relations between them like those between persons, and as though all the members of these tribes were of the same

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descent. By so doing they stress community relations and obscure clan differentiation in a political context. This habit often makes their statements appear confused, and even contradictory, but it accords with a strong tendency in social life, as we have seen in discussing the various meanings of the word '*cieng*', to identify the lineage system and the political system in a specific set of relations.

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● 619
Many Nuer regard their ancestors Gee and Ghaak as the progenitors of all true Nuer, though one is given different classifications in different parts of Nuerland. Among the Lou it is said that all the tribes are descended from Gee, except the Jikany and Gaawar tribes. These two alone are differentiated because their proximity makes them significant for the Lou, whereas all the other tribes, which have no direct relations with the Lou, are vaguely classified as children of Gee. Among the Eastern Jikany all true Nuer tend to be classed as 'Gee' in contrast to 'Kir', the Jikany themselves. In the valley of the Zeraf and in Western Nuerland, where the tribes have a very much wider range of intertribal contacts, there is a wider range of differentiation. The Nuer tribes there fall into three classes: the Gee group, consisting of Bor, Lang, Rengyan, Bul, Wot, Ror, Thiang, and Lou, stretches in an unbroken line, from north-west to south-east across the centre of Nuerland; the Ghaak group, consisting of Nuong, Dok, Jaloogh, Beegh, Gaankwac, and Rol, occupies the south-western part of Nuerland; and the Ril group, consisting of the Leek and Lak, occupies the lower reaches of the Zeraf and the Ghazal near their junction with the Nile. I have sometimes heard the Bul included in the Ril group. However, in Dok country and in adjacent tribal areas people further distinguish between the tribes elsewhere classed as sons of Ghaak and divide them into a Ghaak group, comprising Beegh, and Jaalogh, and a Gwea group, comprising Dok, Nuong, Gaankwac, and Rol.

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In these classifications we note a further exemplification of what we have often observed elsewhere about Nuer classifications: their segmentary tendency and their relativity. Whilst, for example, other Nuer see the Dok and the Beegh as Ghaak they only see themselves as an undivided Ghaak group in opposition to the Gee fraternity and otherwise see themselves

as parts of opposed segments, Gwea and Ghaak. It will be noted 614
that these groups of tribes, often represented as families of
clans, occupy distinct sections of Nuerland. Before the 619
period of eastwards migration they ran from north to south, in
three or four groups, to the west of the Nile. Territorial contiguity
and a common clan structure, such as we find among the Jikany
tribes, or close relationship within a clan system, such as we find
among the Ghaak group of tribes, go together, and the values of
the two systems may be assumed to interact. The segmentation
of lineages within a tribe in relation to its political segmentation
is thus repeated in the whole clan system of the Nuer, the
segments of which are co-ordinated with the political segmentation
of Nuerland. Those tribes which are adjacent to one
another have a common opposition to other groups of tribes and
this relation is reflected in the tendency for them to be represented,
through their dominant lineages and clans, as closely
related on a mythological and ritual plane.

Gee and Ghaak and Gwea are represented as brothers, sons of 773
a mythological ancestor, sometimes called Ghau, the World, and
sometimes Ran, Man, whose father is said to be Kwoth, God. Ril 602
is often described as one of their brothers as well, though he is
sometimes represented to be a son of a daughter of Gee, called Kar.

All sons of Gee have agnatic kinship (*buth*) which allows them to partake of one another's sacrifices. In these ritual situations only the true sons of Gee, the JINACA, the GAATHIANG, and JIDIET, and other clans descended from Gee, have *buth* interrelationship, but in other situations the tribes in which these clans have a dominant status are represented as brothers or first cousins. Thus Thiang is said to have been the eldest son of Gee, Nac (Rengyan and Lou) the second son, Ror and other tribes younger sons; and Rengyan (Nac) and Wot (Dit) are said to have been twins, as also Bor and Lang, sons of Meat.

Some tribes stand outside this big family. The Jikany tribes 773
have dominant lineages of Dinka origin, descended from Kir,
who was found in a gourd by a man of the Ngok Dinka, but, as 602
was earlier explained, they are mythologically related to the 619
Gee group, because Gee is variously represented as the protector
or father-in-law of Kir. The GAATGANKIIR have a *buth* relationship
with some lineage system of the Ngok Dinka, and there-

773 fore, in an unprecise political sense, the Jikany and Ngok Dinka
tribes have, by analogy, a fraternal relationship. It may safely
602 be assumed that at one time they had close intertribal relations.
619 The GAAWAR clan have also an independent origin, their ancestor
having descended from heaven. However, a number of mythological links unite him to the founders of various clans which are dominant in tribes of the Ghaak group (see pp. 230–1), and the Gaawar tribe therefore belongs to this group. Although the Nile now separates it from the other members of the group it was at one time their most northern extension on the west bank. Owing to *buth* relationship between GAAWAR and other clans of the family of clans descended from Kwook, Gaawar are said to go with the people of the Fadang section of the Bor tribe and the Atwot people, who are said to have lived at one time between the present Rengyan and Dok tribal areas.

Through the recognition of agnatic relationship between exogamous clans and of cognatic and mythological ties between clans not considered to be agnates, all the Nuer tribes are by assimilation of political to kinship values conceptualized as a single social system. A number of clans are not associated with tribes, but their lineages are included in this system by the affiliation of the clans to one or other of the large families of clans. Thus, the JIMEM, JIKUL, GAATLEAK, and JITHER are descended from Gee and belong to the Gee group; the JIKUL are mythologically attached to the Ril group and the JAKAR to the Ghaak group; and so on. The whole of the Nuer are brought into a single kinship or pseudo-kinship system and all the territorial segments of Nuerland are interconnected by that system.

XIII

619 In our view the unusual degree of genealogical segmentation
in the Nuer lineage system is to be understood in terms of tribal
613 structure, which is, as we have seen, characterized by its tendency towards segmentation. The association of the lineage
614 system with the tribal system means that as the tribe splits into
segments so will the clan split into segments, and that the lines of cleavage will tend to coincide, for lineages are not corporate groups but are embodied in local communities through which they function structurally. Just as a man is a member of a tribal

segment opposed to other segments of the same order and yet also 619 a member of the tribe which embraces all these segments, so also he is a member of a lineage opposed to other lineages of the same 613 order and yet also a member of the clan which embraces all 614 these lineages, and there is a definite correspondence between these two sets of affiliations, since the lineage is embodied in the segment and the clan in the tribe. Therefore, the distance in clan structure between two lineages of a dominant clan tends to correspond to the structural distance between the tribal segments with which they are associated. Hence the tribal system draws out and segments the dominant clans and gives them their characteristic lineage form. Evidence in support of this contention could be cited from any Nuer tribe; we propose to examine only a few typical examples.

We have observed that in the Lou tribe the Gaatbal and Rumjok secondary sections form the primary section of Gun in opposition to the Mor primary section, and how the dominant lineages of the Gaatbal and the Rumjok sections are descended from one wife of Denac and the dominant lineage of the Mor section is descended from a different wife, so that Gaatbal and Rumjok are to one another in a relation analogous to that of full brothers and the Gun stand to the Mor in a relation analogous to that of half-brothers. We have noted, likewise, how the dominant lineages of the Gaajak are descended from two closely related wives of Kir while the dominant lineages of the Gaajok and Gaagwang, which have a very close alliance, are descended from a third wife.

The GAATGANKIIR lineages in their relation to the segmentary structure of the Jikany tribes provide an excellent test of the hypothesis that lineage structure is twisted into the form of the political structure, for the same lineages are found at extremities of Nuerland where political conditions are not identical. Had I had more time in the Jikany countries, or had I formulated the problem more clearly in the little time I had to spend there, I might have been in a position to state my conclusions more dogmatically. We will briefly analyse the lineage system of the GAATGANKIIR in its relation to two of the Gaajak primary sections.

Thiang was the eldest son of Kir. He had two wives, Nyagaani 613 and Baal. From these two wives spring the three main lineages of *cieng* Thiang, the Thiang primary tribal section, TAR, LONY (or 173 GEK), and KANG. What is said to have happened is shown in the diagram on p. 242. Tar, being the only son of his mother, has founded an independent lineage and tribal section, that which lives in the

Nuer consider that lineage cleavage arises from a fundamental 613
cleavage in the family between *gaatgwan*, children of the father, 829
and *gaatman*, children of the mother. Where there are two
wives and each has sons, the lineage bifurcates from this point.
A lineage bifurcation is a polygamous family writ large. *Thok
dwiel*, lineage, means this; it is 'the entrance to the hut', the
mother's hut. The tiny twigs we see in the *gol*, household, grow
into the great branches of the lineages. It is for this reason that
lineages are so often named after women, the mothers from
whose wombs sprang the different lines of descent. As we under- 613
stand the process, what happens is that certain lineage groups 182
gain political importance and exclusiveness, becoming nuclei
of tribal sections, and that only by so doing is their structural
position stabilized and are the points of their bifurcation rendered
fixed and permanent points of convergence in lineage structure.
This explains how it is that in only a few out of a vast number
of polygamous families is maternal descent structurally significant, and why the bifurcation occurs in the lineage where it
occurs in the tribe.

This tendency towards co-ordination of territorial segmentation and lineage segmentation can be seen in the various stages of territorial expansion between the household and the tribe. When brothers of an influential family live in different parts of a village and gather around them a cluster of relations and dependants, these hamlet-groups are named after them and they become the point at which the lineage is likely to bifurcate. Thus, if the brothers are called Bul and Nyang, people speak of the *gol* of Bul and the *gol* of Nyang, and if later the grandchildren of one of them move to a different village site the lineage will split into two branches. Such minimal lineages as those pictured in the diagrams on pages 196–7[1] occupy adjacent villages, or widely separated divisions of the same large straggling village, and make separate camps along the same stretch of river or adjacent camps around a small lake. The points of divergence of lineages from clan trees are thus related to the size and distribution of inhabited sites in a tribal area.

The association of the tribal system with a clan may thus 619●
be supposed to influence the form of the lineage structure. We 613
may further emphasize the morphological consistency between

[1] [see cat. 116 — Analyst]

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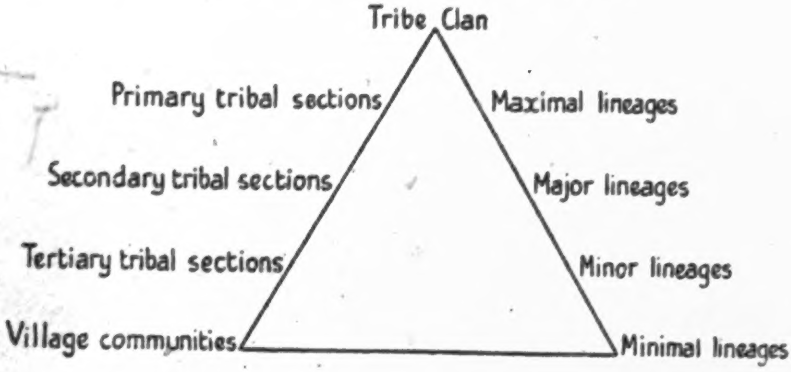
the two structures. There are always more villages than tertiary segments in a tribe and more tertiary segments than secondary segments, and so on, so that, since each territorial unit is associated with a lineage, the narrowing of such units from the multitude of villages to the single unit of the tribe must be reflected in the conceptual structure of the lineage system, there being a multitude of minimal lineages, fewer minor lineages, and so forth, till the single unit of the clan is reached. If this suggestion is accepted it is evident that the lineages are in number and structural position strictly limited and controlled by the system of territorial segmentation. The two systems may thus be represented diagrammatically by the same figure, though the correspondence is not exact.


Tribe
Clan
Primary tribal sections
Maximal lineages
Secondary tribal sections
Major lineages
Tertiary tribal sections
Minor lineages
Village communities
Minimal lineages

881 in arranging for its boys to be initiated. After the operation 561 the boys live in partial seclusion and are subject to various taboos. This is a time of mild licence and they pass out of it by a special rite. On the day of the cutting, and on the day of the passing out of seclusion, sacrifices are made and there is festivity, which includes licentious horseplay and the singing of lewd songs. Only age-mates of the father of the initiate in whose homestead the feasting takes place attend it: others keep at a distance lest they see the nakedness of their kinswomen and mothers-in-law.

II

All boys initiated during a number of successive years belong to a single age-set (*ric*). There has, till recently, been a four-year interval between the end of one such set and the commencement of the next. These four years are known as the time 'when the knife is hung up', and at the end of that period it is said 'the knife is brought out' and boys may then be initiated again. 591] A certain *wut ghok*, 'Man of the Cattle', is, in each tribe, responsible for opening and closing the initiation periods and thereby dividing the sets. He performs the appropriate rite in his district, and when the news goes round other districts begin or cease initiation. He derives prestige from his functions, but they are ritual and give him no political authority. Sometimes, [792] in Western Nuerland, they are performed by a prophet, but it is possible that in these cases the prophet is also a Man of the Cattle. The age-sets are organized independently in each tribe, 561 at any rate in the larger tribes, but it often happens that when 619 a new set has been started in one tribe an adjacent tribe will follow its lead, so that the names and periods of sets in neighbouring tribes are frequently the same. Also, though in different parts of Nuerland the names of the sets are different and the open and closed periods do not coincide, it is easy for a man who moves from one part to another to perceive in which set he would have been initiated had he been brought up in that part of the country.

881 To-day there are no closed periods and boys are initiated every 561 year. The Man of the Cattle announces every few years that he is about to cut the sets and performs a ceremony by which all

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which we call political. They also have manifold contacts with one another—economic, ceremonial, food, play, and so forth—and political relations may be viewed as a specific organization of the texture of social ties, which control these contacts, in certain situations. It is this action of the age-set system, in establishing ties between members of local communities and in giving them a kinship value, that we chiefly stress in a political context rather than its indication of leadership, for outside small kinship and domestic groups the authority derived from seniority is negligible, and the sets lack leadership and administrative and judicial functions.

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The age-set system has been briefly treated because of this action and also because, in the larger tribes at any rate, it is a tribal institution. It segments the male population of a tribe into stratified groups which stand in a definite relationship to one another and it cuts across territorial divisions, giving identity of status where there is political disparity and differentiating status where there is political identity. However, the political system and the age-set system do not seem to be interdependent. Both are consistent in themselves and to some extent overlap and influence one another, but it is easy to conceive of the political system existing without an age-set organization. There is evidence in East Africa that political development produces atrophy of the age-set organization. In conclusion we would again emphasize that adjacent tribes co-ordinate their sets and that the sets of any tribe are easily translated into the sets of another tribe. Initiation rites, more than anything save language, distinguish Nuer culture and give Nuer that sense of superiority which is so conspicuous a trait of their character. Only in the sense that age-sets are organized tribally and are common to all tribes can there be said to be a correspondence between the age-set system and the political system. There is no positive structural correspondence of the kind we have noted between the lineage system of dominant clans and tribal segmentation. It may be said, therefore, that whereas the political system and the lineage system of dominant clans are interdependent, the political system and the age-set systems are only a combination, in Nuer society. We may add that the common assumption that an age-set system merely by

stratification integrates the members of a tribe has little to commend it.

V

In the way we have written this book we have in some measure broken away from the tradition of lengthy monographs on primitive peoples. These weighty volumes generally record observations in too haphazard a fashion to be either pleasant or profitable reading. This deficiency is due to absence of a body of scientific theory in Social Anthropology, for facts can only be selected and arranged in the light of theory. It is aggravated by the error of confusing documentation with illustration. We have also tried to describe Nuer social organization on a more abstract plane of analysis than is usual, for usually abstract terms are mistaken for abstractions. Whether we have succeeded in doing so is for the reader to judge, but in case it be said that we have only described the facts in relation to a theory of them and as exemplifications of it and have subordinated description to analysis, we reply that this was our intention.

It is difficult to know how far one is justified in pressing an abstraction. Once one has a theoretical point of view it is fairly simple to decide what facts are significant, since they are significant or otherwise to the theory, but it may be doubted whether it is wise, in discussing the political institutions of a primitive people, to give only the barest reference to their domestic and kinship life. Can this be done successfully? That is precisely the question we have asked ourselves, and we have concluded that an answer can only be given to it by making the attempt.

1. We first gave an account of Nuer absorption in their cattle and showed how this value in their system of oecological relations necessitates a certain mode of distribution and transhumance. We then described the concepts of time and space that arise very largely from ways of livelihood and disposition of settlements. We then examined the territorial sections which, through the values attached to them, form a political system. We further noted that structural distance in the lineage systems

835 recorded in this essay.[1] Nor can I discuss at the length required
the political implications of Nuer exogamous rules. I have
devoted a few pages in *The Nuer*[2] to this aspect of them, the
argument of which may be presented here in a few sentences.
621 The Nuer political structure was treated in that book as a system
●619 of relations between territorial groups which express both their
613 autonomy and their participation in the system in terms of
614 lineage and clan affiliations. The local groups are organized
into a common tribal structure through the association of clans with tribes, and the various lineages of these dominant clans in each tribe with the various sections and sub-sections of the tribe. Political structure is conceptualized in lineage structure. To play this part lineages must be both unique groups and at the same time be identified with local communities within which they function politically. Were they to lose entirely their uniqueness as descent groups the lineage structure in which the local communities see themselves as parts of a tribal organization would collapse. Were they not to merge in the network of kinship relations of which each local community is composed they would lack that corporateness which identification with residential groups gives them and be an abstraction, since they are not corporate groups in their own right. A man acts sometimes as a lineage member, cutting himself off from the community of which he is part, but in ordinary social life he acts as a member of this community without reference to his exclusive lineage affiliation. In some situations values of descent determine his conduct but in most situations it is determined by kinship values or by those community values which are an expression on a political plane of a sentiment created by a network of personal relations within the kinship system. This separation of the lineage from community life and its merging into it again is very largely brought about by the rules of exogamy which exclude marriage within the clan, thus giving that group distinctness, while compelling its lineages, by marrying outside the clan, to become multiple links in the network of kinship relations the strands of which form the texture of community life. Every Nuer local community thus becomes a

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[1] Information on these subjects will be found in my papers: 'Nuer Bridewealth', *Africa*, xvi. 4 (1946); 'Nuer Marriage Ceremonies', ibid. xviii. 1 (1948); and *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 11 (1945).

[2] *The Nuer*, Oxford: Clarendon Press (1940), pp. 225–8.

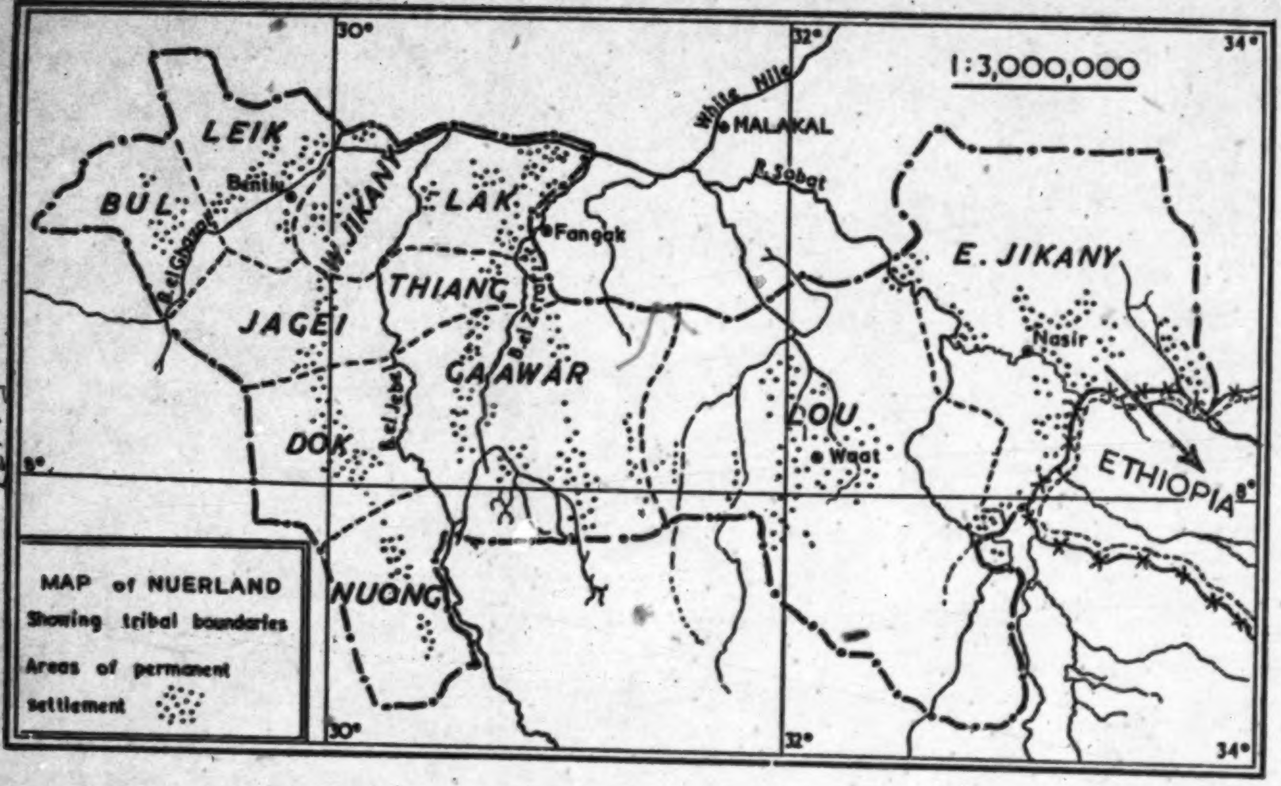
community of kindred every member of which regulates his 621
behaviour to every other member in accordance with a variety 619
of kinship patterns and can predict their behaviour to himself 613
in conformity with the same norms. 614

When a local community becomes in this way a network of 582
kinship ties it is necessary, so varied and extensive are the re- 602
lationships which come under the exogamous ban, to marry 621
outside it, so that not only is the social autonomy of lineage groups prevented by the rules regulating marriage but also the social autonomy of residential groups. Kinship ties thus cross the gaps in political structure and unite members of opposed segments of it. Every political group of whatever size has a wider social setting outside its boundaries.

Local communities become therefore groups of people who, being all interrelated in one way or another, must marry into a different local community. This happens because the Nuer make any kind of cognatic relationship to several degrees a bar to marriage and, at least so it seems to me, it is a bar to marriage because of the fundamental agnatic principle running through Nuer society. In any Nuer residential group, of whatever size, there is a great variety of personal ties of a kinship order bringing its members into a texture of relationships, but the warp of the texture is the agnatic lineage and to it everyone attaches himself locally. If a man is not a member of the lineage with which he lives he makes himself a member of it by, in one way or another, treating a maternal link as though it was a paternal one. The lineage is thus in its corporate character a composite structure of cognatic branches and attachments in which the value of agnation is the integrating principle. The solidarity of a group of persons living together, and thereby the lineage structure which contains them, is maintained by emphasizing cognation in the rules of exogamy.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

Lp.13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30°
32°
34°
9°
8°
White Nile
MALAKAL
R. Sobat
LEIK
BUL
Bentiu
R. el Ghazal
W. JIKANY
LAK
Fangak
B. el Zeraf
THIANG
JAGEI
GAAWAR
B. el Jebel
DOK
NUONG
LOU
Waat
E. JIKANY
Nasir
ETHIOPIA
MAP of NUERLAND
Showing tribal boundaries
Areas of permanent settlement

8:Howell E, G-5 (1942-1944)1954
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

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361
619

of Nuerland in support of his views. There is often the danger of over-simplification and generalization in a summary account of this nature and the reader must bear this warning in mind. 114

Professor Evans-Pritchard has classified the different forms or sizes of local community among the Nuer as follows: 114 621

The MONOGAMOUS FAMILY attached to a single hut.

The HOUSEHOLD which occupies a single HOMESTEAD consisting of a cattle-byre and a number of dwelling huts occupied by a POLYGYNOUS family.

The HAMLET, a group of households living in a restricted area, but varying considerably in size and numbers.

The VILLAGE, a group of hamlets and scattered homesteads in a distinct area.

The CAMP, which is essentially a dry season formation, but not necessarily corresponding in the exact number of persons or the same individuals to the hamlet or larger unit from which the majority of its occupants come.

The DISTRICT, 'an aggregate of villages and camps which have easy intercommunication.' This usually corresponds to a small tribal segment.

The TRIBAL SEGMENTS OR SECTIONS of varying sizes.

The PEOPLE (Nuer: *Naadh*).

The 'INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY', the limits of which are the Nuer's social horizon.

The homestead and the hamlet are essentially domestic units, while larger units are political as well as economic in character. The size and distribution of local communities are largely determined by physical conditions but partly by political considerations—the need for mutual defence, for example—which are variable in time and intensity. Hamlets or villages are usually the smallest political units and are composed of a group of people bound by loyalties which do not spring from kinship association alone but from the need for mutual co-operation in other spheres.

The Tribe and Tribal Segments

Among the Nuer one is faced with the usual problems of defining the segments of a segmentary society. According to Professor Evans-Pritchard the tribe is the largest political unit within the Nuer nation, since it is the largest aggregate of peoples who consider that 'disputes between its members should be settled by arbitration and that it ought to combine against communities of the same kind and against foreigners'. If the Dur (usually classed with the Nuong) and the Aak (often classed with the Dok) are considered to be separate tribes and the eastern Jikany peoples are composed of three separate tribes, the Gaajok, Gaajak and Gaagwang, there are fifteen such tribes in Nuerland, varying in size from approximately 6,700 (Aak) to 67,000 souls (Lou).[1] Each tribe has a dominant clan, round which other clans are clustered. Each has a common name, often derived from that of the original 619●

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[1] See Appendix I.

Oc.

619 ancestor of the dominant clan, from the name of his favourite bull, or having some mythical origin.[1]

The tribe is therefore a unit of society bound by ties resulting from common residence, by the possession of a common territory, by a network of kinship and other social links in relation to the dominant clan from which it takes its name, by the need for mutual defence against external aggression and for co-operation in warfare against other tribes and peoples.

619 613 Each tribe is further divided into primary tribal segments, these again into secondary segments, and these into tertiary segments, the lines of cleavage usually but not always following the segmentation of the lineages of the dominant clan. As an example, the primary and secondary segments of the Gaawar tribe are shown in the diagram (Fig. 1).

Within each tribe only a small proportion of the people has the genuine right to claim direct descent from the original ancestor from whom the tribal name is derived. The majority are descended from later immigrants from other parts of Nuerland, or from Dinka accretions absorbed by the fiction of adoption into Nuer society. Genuine descendants are termed *diel*,[2] although this term is rarely used except in a context where the distinction is necessary, for the *diel* do not enjoy any great or noticeable privileges which distinguish them from other lineages which are called *rul*. The distinction exists only within the tribe and within its component segments. Beyond tribal boundaries it no longer has any significance. A Gaawar Nuer, a true descendant of War, is only *diel* within that tribe; he would be *rul* if he lived in Thiang country. Likewise a descendant of the dominant lineage in Thiang would be *rul* in Gaawar. A more common distinction made by the Nuer is between *gaat tutni* (sing. *gat tuot*),[3] the 'sons of bulls', the descendants of the male line dominant in that area, and *gaat nyiet* (sing. *gat nyal*), the 'sons of daughters', i.e. descendants through the female line and by this means attached to the dominant lineage. Others can claim marital relationships and refer to the dominant lineage as *ji cieng thu*, 'in-laws' or more literally, 'people of the in-laws' home', or *gaat nar*, 'mother's brother's sons', so that there is throughout a network of such relationships which provides explanation for political association and occupation of a common territory.

The political significance of the clan system is to be found in its association with the territorial segments of the tribe. The clan is itself

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[1] For example, the Gaawar call themselves *gaat gan* War 'the sons of the sons of War'. Thiang refers to the bull-name of an ancestor, while *ji kany* (Jikany), the 'people of the gourd', refers to the twin birth of their original ancestor in a gourd together with the ancestor of the Ngok Dinka. Jagei, 'people of Gei or Gee', and so on.

[2] Professor Evans-Pritchard calls the *diel* 'aristocratic lineages'. This is an apt enough description provided it is remembered that there is no class distinction.

[3] A term now used to mean Government 'headman'.

segmented, its lineages usually corresponding to the segmentation of the tribe, but this correspondence is not always exact. Thus in Gaawar the Bang, Caam, and Gaatkwa segments are by origin offshoots of the Per lineage, but whereas Per is a segment of the Radh primary segment, the former are all segments of the Bar primary segment. There is no conflict of loyalty involved, for kinship allegiance is sufficiently

FIGURE I

The Segmentation of the Gaawar Tribe

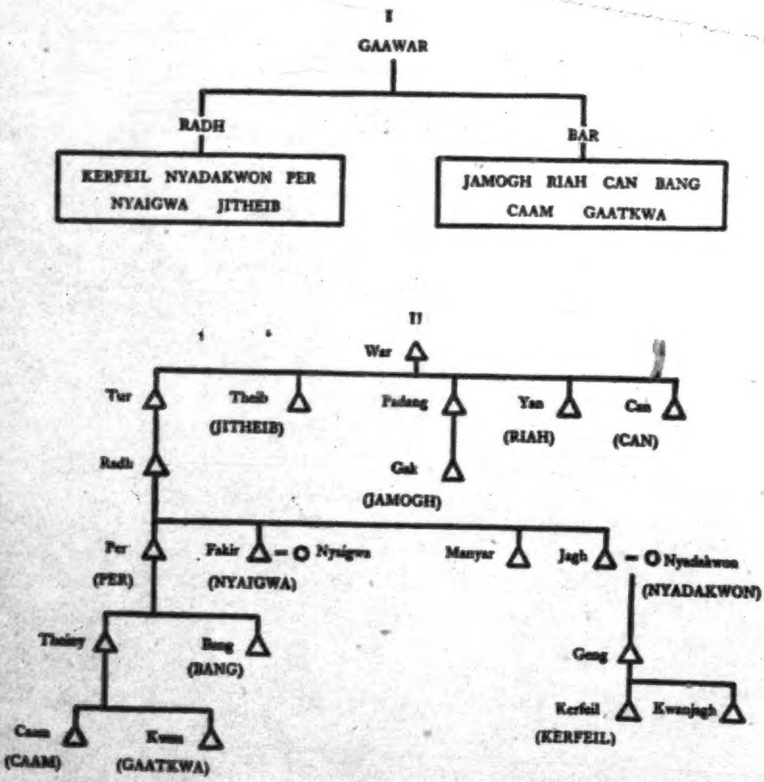
I
GAAWAR
RADH
BAR
KERFEIL NYADAKWON PER
NYAIGWA JITHEIB
JAMOGH RIAH CAN BANG
CAAM GAATKWA
II
War
Tur
Theib
(JITHEIB)
Padang
Yan
(RIAH)
Can
(CAN)
Radh
Gak
(JAMOGH)
Per
(PER)
Fakir
Nyaigwa
(NYAIGWA)
Manyar
Jagh
Nyadakwon
(NYADAKWON)
Theiny
Bang
(BANG)
Geng
Kerfeil
(KERFEIL)
Kwanjagh
Caam
(CAAM)
Kwan
(GAATKWA)

Table I shows the primary and secondary segments of the tribe as they are grouped in political and territorial association. Table II shows the actual genealogies cited by the Gaawar to explain these associations. It will be noted that the segmentation does not entirely correspond with lineal connexions, since Cieng Bang, Cieng Caam, and Cieng Gaatkwa derive from Cieng Per, one of the main secondary segments of Radh.

●619 remote to be overshadowed by territorial association. If there were
an occasion when the whole of Radh found themselves ranged against
613 Bar, the Bang, Caam, and Gaatkwa segments would follow Bar rather
than Radh.

The territorial segments of a Nuer tribe have the same characteristics as the tribe itself, viz. a common sentiment strengthened by tradition and mythology, exclusive rights in land and common occupation of a recognized territory, mutual co-operation in certain economic activities and in warfare both offensive and defensive, and a common name derived from a central lineage. With these characteristics in common, and generally speaking the smaller the segment, the greater the reality and meaning of such characteristics, primary segments are segments of a tribe, secondary segments are segments of a primary segment, and tertiary segments are segments of secondary segments. Finally a tertiary segment is divided into a number of villages and villages into basic domestic units represented in the homesteads which are also family groups. The smaller the unit, the more nearly it corresponds with a kinship group.

The Meaning of the word cieng

619 The word *cieng* is normally used to describe these segments of
society but, like the segments themselves, is a reflection of structural
621 relativity. Hence it is a term which leads to much confusion among Europeans unacquainted with the social structure of the Nuer. I can do no better than quote some remarks of Professor Evans-Pritchard on this subject because they provide a key to an understanding of Nuer society and hence to an understanding of modes of behaviour, social relations, and also of legal concepts, which are the subject of this book.

> When a Nuer speaks of his *cieng*, his *dhor*, his *gol*, &c., he is conceptualizing his feelings of structural distance, identifying himself with a local community, and, by so doing, cutting himself off from other communities of the same kind. An examination of the word *cieng* will teach us one of the most fundamental characteristics of Nuer local groups and, indeed, all social groups: their structural relativity. What does a Nuer mean when he says 'I am a man of such and such a *cieng*'? *Cieng* means 'home', but its precise significance varies with the situation in which it is spoken. If one meets an Englishman in Germany and asks him where his home is, he may reply that it is England. If one meets the same man in London and asks him the same question, he will tell one that his home is in Oxfordshire, whereas if one meets him in that county, he will tell one the name of the town or village in which he lives. If questioned in his town or village he will mention his particular street, and if questioned in his street he will indicate his house. So it is with the Nuer. A Nuer met outside Nuerland says that his home is *cieng* Nath, Nuerland. He may also refer to his tribal country as his *cieng*, though the more usual expression for this is *rol*. If one asks him in his tribe what is his *cieng*, he will name his village or tribal section according to the context. Generally he will name either his tertiary tribal section or his village, but he may give his primary

> or secondary section. If asked in his village he will mention the name of his hamlet or indicate his homestead or the end of the village in which his homestead is situated. Hence if a man says '*Wa ciengda*', 'I am going home', outside his village he means that he is returning to it; if in his village he means that he is going to his hamlet; if in his hamlet he means that he is going to his homestead. *Cieng* thus means homestead, hamlet, village, and tribal sections of varying dimensions.
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> The variations in the meaning of the word *cieng* are not due to the inconsistencies of language, but to the relativity of the group-values to which it refers.[1]

Cieng is a word which is used to describe residence, whether common residence implies kinship relationship or not. Thus when a man says he is a member of *cieng* Kerfeil, it does not necessarily mean that he can claim lineal descent from Kerfeil who is the ancestor of the Kerfeil lineage, though he can usually claim some form of affinity with that lineage, which is also the dominant one within that tertiary segment of the Gaawar and from which the name of that segment is derived. The word *cieng* is therefore variable in its application and meaning. In referring to a kinship group without any territorial implications there is another term which is commonly used, *thok dwiel.*[2] It must be remembered that this term is also relative. If asked his *thok dwiel*, his clan or lineage, a Nuer may say, for example, Gaawar, he may say Radh, he may say Kerfeil, or make a further distinction by saying Teng (Kerfeil), or he may refer to the name of some more recent ancestor. Since tribal segments and territorial units are seen by the Nuer in terms of kinship, the word *cieng* is, in many contexts, synonymous with the term *thok dwiel*, but the former is more specifically a term of residence, the latter a term of kinship, and both are relative.

It will be seen, therefore, that the kinship system provides a framework upon which wider political loyalties are extended. Political association is expressed in kinship terms. Thus the Gaawar are *gaat gan* War, the 'sons of the sons of War', and any member of the tribe will speak of himself as such in contrast to other tribes. All Gaawar, however, are not direct descendants of War, and in a context where a distinction is necessary the fact may be stressed. The tribe is usually closely associated with the clan from which it takes its name and which usually has greater numerical representation in that tribe than any other clan, but the clan is not restricted to any one locality and is itself segmented. These segments of the clan or lineages give their names to the component segments of the tribe and so on down the scale until the final unit of society is more nearly a kinship group

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[1] Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, pp. 135–6.

[2] Literally 'entrance to the house'. The best translation in English is 'house', in the sense of a lineage—'the House of Bourbon', &c. The Arabic equivalent is *Khashm beit* (خشم بيت) which is often used in Arab society with the same relativity. As in Nuer society, among Arabs social relationships and political associations are expressed in kinship terms.

619 621 occupying exclusively a common territory. Thus the genealogical system runs right through the structure of the tribe and gives it a form which can be visualized by the Nuer in kinship terms. Each individual knows his position in that structure and therefore his relation to other persons in the tribe by reference to the segmentations of the clan which run through it.

I do not propose to digress further on the nature of Nuer society, but must emphasize its structural form and relativity. Further, it is important to note that tribes and segments of tribes exist largely in opposition to each other, a condition which Professor Evans-Pritchard describes as the 'balanced opposition of groups'. Both these conditions, structural relativity and balanced opposition, are of profound importance in a study of customary law, since the sanctions for conformity are relative in strength according to the position in society of the individuals or groups concerned, and 'balanced opposition' is an especially important feature in the institution of the feud and the way in which feuds are composed. I shall therefore refer to these features of Nuer society later.

Custom or Law and the Sanctions for Conformity

671 The Nuer had no regular institutions for the enforcement of customary law in the past. Social control was not maintained through the systematic application of 'the force of politically organized society',[1] for there is no evidence that anything of such a developed and formalized nature existed. On this strict definition, then, the Nuer had no 'law', but it is clear that in a less exact sense they were not lawless. There were recognized standards for the control of human relationships even though these were maintained by sanctions too indeterminate to be called legal. As will be seen later, a very large and growing body of what should be called 'custom' when we refer to the past is now consistently administered in the tribunals established by the Government and hence is enforceable law in a more precise sense. It is not possible, however, to qualify every statement in reference to the past or the present, so that the term 'law' is used rather loosely in the text which follows.

577 602 A Nuer thinks in terms of rights which he calls *cuong* and of wrongs which he calls *duer*. *Duer* in this sense means the failure to recognize a right or the infringement of a right. The Nuer has, by reason of his membership of a kinship group, both rights and obligations. A wrong, *duer*, therefore has two meanings. In the first place it is a wrong when a man actively violates the right of another. It is also a wrong when a man refuses to honour his obligations towards his kinsmen.

010 Given that there were rules of conduct, expressed in the terms

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[1] Roscoe Pound, *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Law.*

624 554 *tuot* or *tut wec*, the 'bull of the herd', a position which is acquired within a dominant lineage and extended in relation to other lineages. The expression *gat tuot*, as we have seen, is used in the same sense as *diel* and refers to any member of a dominant lineage, but it has a more restricted meaning and is used nowadays to indicate a 'headman' in the Government system of administrative agents. The *tut wec*, the 'bull of the herd', however, is used generally to refer to the man who is recognized within the segment, whatever its size, as the most important adult male. His position is in the first place derived from his place in the genealogy of the dominant lineage, but it is largely dependent on his personality and prestige. The word *ruic* is sometimes applied to the *tut wec*, but has clearly a much wider significance in political relations and in past history. Finally, it is worth noting that there [619] were never any *ruic* whose influence extended over a unit of society larger than the tribe, which tends to support Professor Evans-Pritchard's contention that the tribe is the largest unit of any permanent political significance.

There is even some evidence that the *ruic Naaah* in much earlier days had greater influence, though the emphasis is placed on their ritual rather than political status. I have heard Nuer say of Buogh Kerfeil that he assumed the stool (*kum* or *kwom*),[1] a fact which suggests some special symbol of office. They also talk of a ceremony in which he was 'lifted up to God' by his fellows, suggesting a ritual investiture. Yet, although Nuer tradition refers to events which happened in the time of old men's grandfathers and, being thus much more recent than Dinka or Shilluk mythology, may have a greater degree of historical accuracy, the story scarcely provides adequate evidence that a form of institutionalized authority was then in existence or that the *ruic Naadh* approximated even remotely to the general conception of an African Chief with political and executive powers.

The essential distinction is that among the Nuer the concept of *ruic* does not imply a crystallized institution in the form of a position in society automatically filled when the present holder dies. In the past, if a hereditary successor did assume the position, this did not mean that his influence would necessarily extend over the sphere affected by the actions of his predecessor. If a *ruic* died his successor gradually established himself by the accumulation of prestige and popularity among the people and gained their acceptance. There is no evidence of a stabilized institution continuing on a permanent level throughout Nuer history. The *ruic* of a tribe only exercised authority, if influence based on powers of persuasion can be called authority, so

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[1] The Nuer *kum* is an ambatch stick-shield which is also used to sit on. The idea of a stool as a throne is unknown to the Nuer, but may here be derived from the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk the *reth* or king is ceremonially enthroned on the sacred stool (*kwom*) at his installation. See P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thompson, 'The Death of a Shilluk *Reth* and the Installation of his Successor', *S.N.R.*, 1946.

APPENDIX I

NUERLAND

Populations and Area

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619●
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Central Nuer District

Tribe	*Humans*[1]	*Cattle*[2]	*Area in square miles*[3]	*Courts*
Lak . . .	37,000	44,000*	1,500	
Gaawar . .	39,000	48,000*	5,120	11 (B) Regional Courts
Thiang . .	13,000	15,000*	970	1 (C) Main Court
Lou . . .	63,000	126,000*	5,290	

Western Nuer District

Bul . . .	32,000	50,000	2,320	
Leik . . .	27,000	40,000	2,140	
Jagei . .	14,000	31,000*	1,220	5 (B) Regional Courts
Dok (and Aak) .	21,000	35,000*	1,930	2 (C) Main Courts
Nuong (and Dur)	14,000	16,000	2,490	
W. Jikany . .	18,000	29,000*	1,100	

Eastern Nuer District

Gaajok . .	45,000	45,000	7,190	4 (B) Regional Courts
Gaajak . .	33,000	33,000		11 (A) Branch Courts
Totals . .	356,000	512,000	31,270	

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[1] Based on recent tax-payer figures multiplied by 4·5 to nearest 1000 (1952). This multiplier is purely arbitrary and is probably high, but the figures given are consistent.

[2] Figures marked * are statistics taken from veterinary inoculation campaigns and represent a *minimum* figure. It is clear that all cattle were not counted, and possibly up to 20 per cent. should be added. Other figures are merely a rough estimate.

[3] Areas estimated by planimeter, but boundaries are not clearly demarcated or mapped and the areas are necessarily only approximate.

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[p. 239]

II. *Tribal System*

● 619 What is a Nuer tribe? The most obvious characteristic is its territorial unity and exclusiveness, and this was even more marked before European conquest than to-day. The population of a tribe varies from a few hundreds among some small tribes to the west of the Nile—if these are rightly regarded as tribes, for very little research was conducted in that area—to many thousands. Most tribes have a population of over 5,000 and the largest number between 30,000 and 45,000 souls. Each tribe is economically self-sufficient, having its own pastures, water-supplies, and fishing reservations, which its members alone have the right to exploit. It has a name which is the symbol of its distinction. The tribesmen have a sense of patriotism: they are proud to be members of their tribe and they consider it superior to other tribes. Each tribe has within it a dominant clan which furnishes a kinship framework on which the political aggregate is built up. Each also regulates independently its age-set organization.

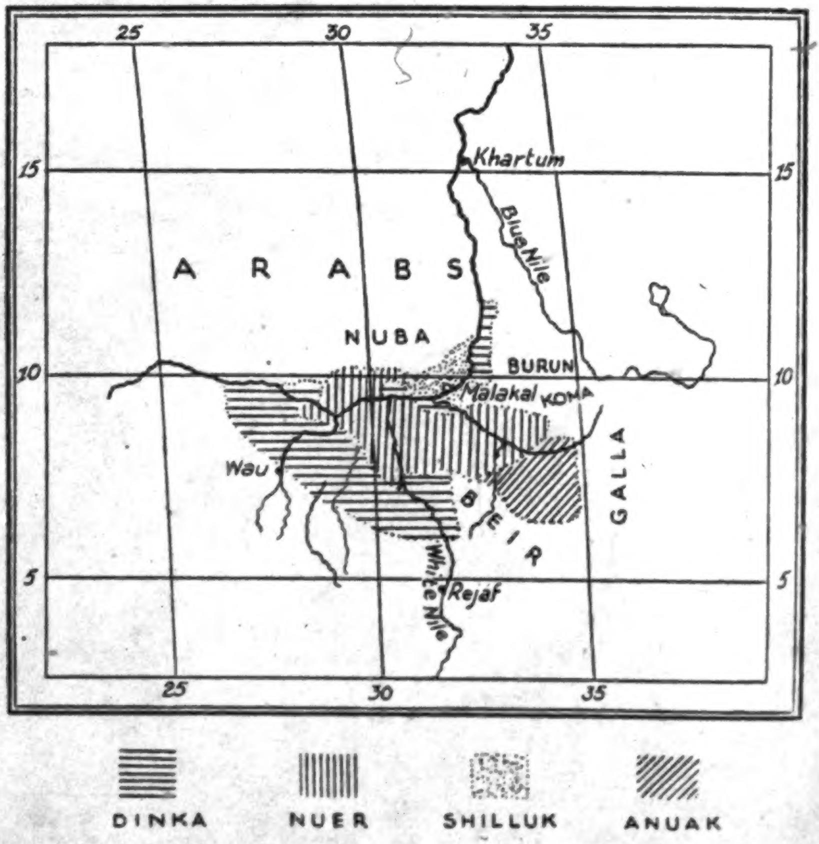
None of the above-mentioned attributes clearly make a formal distinction between a tribe and its divisions. The simplest definition states that a tribe is the largest community which considers that disputes between its members should be settled by arbitration and that it ought to combine against other communities of the same kind and against foreigners. In these two respects there is no larger political group than the tribe and all smaller political groups are sections of it.

Within a tribe there is law: there is machinery for settling disputes and a moral obligation to conclude them sooner or later. If a man kills a fellow tribesman, it is possible to prevent, or curtail, a feud by payment of cattle. Between tribe and tribe there is no means of bringing together the parties to a dispute and compensation is neither offered nor demanded. Thus, if a man of one tribe kills a man of another tribe, retribution can only take the form of intertribal warfare. It must not be supposed that feuds within a tribe are easy to conclude. There is considerable control over retaliation within a village, but the larger the local community the more difficult settlement becomes. When two large divisions of a tribe are concerned in a feud, the chances of immediate arbitration and settlement are remote. The force of law varies with the distance in tribal structure that separates the persons concerned. Nevertheless, so long as a sense of community 619 endures and the legal norm is formally acknowledged within a tribe, whatever may be the inconsistencies and contradictions that appear in the actual relations between tribesmen, they still consider themselves to be a united group. Then either the contradiction of feuds is felt and they are settled, the unity of the tribe being maintained thereby, or they remain so long unsettled that people give up all hope and intention of ever concluding them and finally cease to feel that they ought to be concluded, so that the tribe tends to split and two new tribes come into being.

Nor must it be supposed that the political limits of the tribe are the limits of social intercourse. People move freely all over Nuerland and are unmolested if they have not incurred blood-guilt. They marry and, to a small extent, trade across tribal boundaries, and pay visits to kinsmen living outside their own tribe. Many social relations, which are not specifically political, link members of different tribes. One has only to mention that the same clans are found in different tribes and that everywhere the age-sets are co-ordinated. Any Nuer may leave his tribe and settle in a new tribe, of which he thereby becomes a member. In time of peace, even Dinka foreigners may visit Nuerland unharmed. Moreover, we must recognize that the whole Nuer people form a single community, territorially unbroken, with common culture and feeling of exclusiveness. Their common language and values permit ready inter-communication. Indeed, we might speak of the Nuer as a nation, though only in a cultural sense, for there is no common political organization or central administration.

Besides being the largest group in which legal obligation is 619
acknowledged, a tribe is also the largest group which habitually 721
combines for offence and defence. The younger men of the tribe went, till recently, on joint raiding expeditions against the Dinka and waged war against other Nuer tribes. Raids on the Dinka were very frequent; war between tribes less so. In theory, if two sections of different tribes were engaged in hostilities, each could rely on the support of the other sections of the same tribe, but in practice they did not always join in. Contiguous tribes sometimes combined against foreigners, especially against the Dinka, though there was no moral obligation to do so, the alliance was of short duration, and the allies conducted their operations independently, even when in collaboration.

● 619
721
At the present time, Nuer are to the west and south bordered by Dinka, who appear to have very much the same kind of political system as their own, i.e. they comprise a congeries of tribes without centralized government. From the earliest times the Nuer have been fighting the Dinka and have been generally on the offensive. We know that during the first half of the last century waves of Nuer broke from their homeland to the west of the Nile on to the Dinka lands to the east of that river and that they conquered and absorbed the inhabitants in most of what is now eastern [103] Nuerland (the Nuer distinguish between *Nath cieng*, the 'homeland', or western Nuer, and *Nath doar*, the 'migrated', or eastern Nuer). Fighting between the two peoples has continued till the present time but there does not appear, if maps made by early


25
30
35
15
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5
Khartum
Blue Nile
ARABS
NUBA
BURUN
Malakal
KOMA
GALLA
Wau
BEIR
White Nile
Rejaf
DINKA
NUER
SHILLUK
ANUAK

travellers are to be trusted, to have been much change of territory 619
during the last fifty years. This eastwards migration is a fact that 721
has to be taken into account, with those related earlier, if we wish to know why the eastern tribes are larger, territorially and numerically, than the western tribes, for it may be assumed that the struggle of conquest and settlement, and absorption of Dinka on an unprecedented scale, had some effect on the migrating hordes.

To the north, the Nuer are in varying degrees of contact with 619
Arabs, the peoples of the Nuba Hills, the powerful Shilluk king- 648
dom, and certain small communities in Darfung (Burun and Koma); while to the east and south-east they are bordered by the Galla of Ethiopia, the Anuak, and the Beir. Wherever the Nuer have direct relations with these peoples, they are hostile in character.

Arab slave-raiders from the Northern Sudan intruded here and 648
there into the more accessible portions of Nuerland in the second 175
half of the nineteenth century, but nowhere did they gain the upper hand or, indeed, make a marked impression on the Nuer, who opposed them as strongly as they resisted later the Egyptian Government, which undertook no serious operations against them. The Nuer likewise treated British rule with open disrespect till, as a result of lengthy military operations between 1928 and 1930, their opposition was broken and they were brought under effective administration. With the exception of this last episode in their history, the Nuer may be said to have reached in their foreign relations a state of equilibrium and of mutual hostility which was expressed from time to time in fighting.

A tribe is divided into territorial segments which regard them- 619
selves as separate communities. We refer to the divisions of a 631
tribe as primary, secondary, and tertiary tribal sections. Primary sections are segments of a tribe, secondary sections are segments of a primary section, and tertiary sections are segments of a secondary section. A tertiary section is divided into villages and villages into domestic groups. A member of Z^2 tertiary division of tribe B sees himself as a member of Z^2 community in relation to Z^1, but he regards himself as a member of Y^2 and not of Z^2 in relation to Y^1. Likewise, he regards himself as a member of Y, and not of Y^2, in relation to X. He regards himself as a member of tribe B, and not of its primary section Y, in relation to tribe A. Thus, on a structural plane, there is always contradiction in the definition of a political group, for a man is a member of it in virtue

619 631 of his non-membership of other groups of the same type which he stands outside of, and he is likewise not a member of the same community in virtue of his membership of a segment of it which stands in opposition to its other segments. Hence a man counts as a member of a political group in one situation and not as a member of it in a different situation, e.g. he is a member of a tribe in relation to other tribes and he is not a member of it in so far as his segment of the tribe is opposed to other segments. In studying the Nuer political constitution, it is therefore essential that we view it together with those of their enemies as a single political system, for the outstanding structural characteristic of Nuer political groups is their relativity. A tribal segment is a political group in relation to other segments of the same kind, and they jointly form a tribe only in relation to other Nuer tribes and to adjacent foreign tribes which form part of their political system, and without these relations very little meaning can be attached to the concepts of 'tribe' and 'tribal segment'. That the distinction and individuality of a political group is in relation to groups of the same kind is a generalization that embraces all Nuer local communities, from the largest to the smallest.

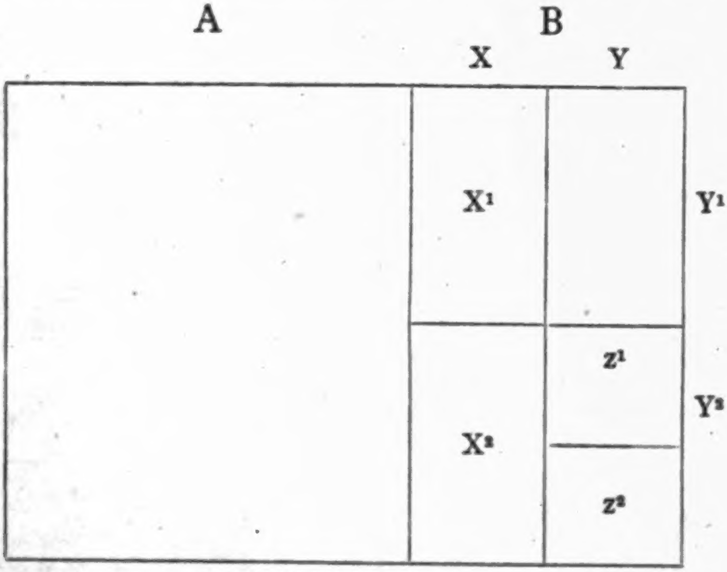

DIAGRAM No. II

128 The relation between tribes and between segments of a tribe

which gives them political unity and distinction is one of opposition. 628 Between tribes, or federations of tribes, and foreign peoples [248] this opposition is expressed, on the Nuer side at any rate, by contempt and persistent raiding, often carried out in a reckless and brutal manner. Between Nuer tribes, opposition is expressed by actual warfare or by acceptance that a dispute cannot, and ought not, to be settled in any other way. In intertribal warfare, however, women and children are neither speared nor enslaved. Between segments of the same tribe, opposition is expressed by the institution of the feud. A fight between persons of the same village or [627] camp is as far as possible restricted to duelling with clubs. The hostility and mode of expression in these different relations varies in degree and in the form it takes.

Feuds frequently break out between sections of the same tribe and they are often of long duration. They are more difficult to settle the larger the sections involved. Within a village feuds are easily settled and within a tertiary tribal section they are concluded sooner or later, but when still larger groups are involved they may never be settled, especially if many persons on either side have been killed in a big fight.

A tribal section has most of the attributes of a tribe: name, sense 634 of patriotism, a dominant lineage, territorial distinction, economic 619 resources, and so forth. Each is a tribe in miniature, and they differ from tribes only in size, in degree of integration, and in that they unite for war and acknowledge a common principle of justice.

The strength of the sentiment associated with local groups is roughly relative to their size. Feeling of unity in a tribe is weaker than feeling of unity within its sections. The smaller the local group, the more the contacts its members have with one another and the more these contacts are co-operative and necessary for the maintenance of the life of the group. In a big group, like the tribe, contacts are infrequent, short, and of limited type. Also the smaller the group the closer and the more varied the relationships between its members, residential relations being only one strand in a network of agnatic, cognatic, and affinal relationships. Relationships by blood and marriage become fewer and more distant the wider the group.

It is evident that when we speak of a Nuer tribe we are using a 619 relative term, for it is not always easy to say, on the criteria we have used, whether we are dealing with a tribe with two primary

619 segments or with two tribes. The tribal system as defined by sociological analysis can, therefore, only be said to approximate to any simple diagrammatic presentation. A tribe is an exemplification of a segmentary tendency which is characteristic of the political structure as a whole. The reason why we speak of Nuer political groups, and of the tribe in particular, as relative groups and state that they are not easily described in terms of political morphology, is that political relations are dynamic. They are always changing in one direction or another. The most evident movement is towards fission. The tendency of tribes and tribal sections towards fission and internal opposition between their parts is balanced by a tendency in the direction of fusion, of the combination or amalgamation of groups. This tendency towards fusion is inherent in the segmentary character of Nuer political structure, for, although any group tends to split into opposed parts, these parts tend to fuse in relation to other groups. Hence fission and fusion are two aspects of the same segmentary principle and the Nuer tribe and its divisions are to be understood as a relation between these two contradictory, yet complementary, tendencies. Physical environment, way of livelihood, mode of distribution, poor communications, simple economy, &c., to some extent explain the incidence of political cleavage, but the tendency towards segmentation seems to be inherent in political structure itself.

III. *Lineage System*

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[614] Tribal unity cannot be accounted for by any of the facts we have so far mentioned, taken alone or in the aggregate, but only by reference to the lineage system. The Nuer clan is not an undifferentiated group of persons who recognize their common kinship, as are many African clans, but is highly segmented. The segments are genealogical structures, and we therefore refer to them as lineages and to the clan as an exogamous system of lineages which trace their descent to a common ancestor. The defining characteristic of a lineage is that the relationship of any member of it to other members can be exactly stated in genealogical terms. His relationship to members of other lineages of the same clan is, therefore, also known, since lineages are genealogically related. Thus, in the diagram below, A is a clan which is segmented into maximal lineages B and C and these again bifurcate

into major lineages D, E, F, and G. In the same manner, minor 619
lineages H, I, J, and K are segments of major lineages E and F; 613
and L, M, N, and O are minimal lineages which are segments of minor lineages H and J. The whole clan is a genealogical structure, [614]
i.e. the letters represent persons to whom the clan and its segments trace their descent, and from whom they often take their names. There must be at least twenty such clans in Nuerland, without taking into account many small lineages of Dinka origin.

The Nuer lineage is a group of agnates, and comprises all living

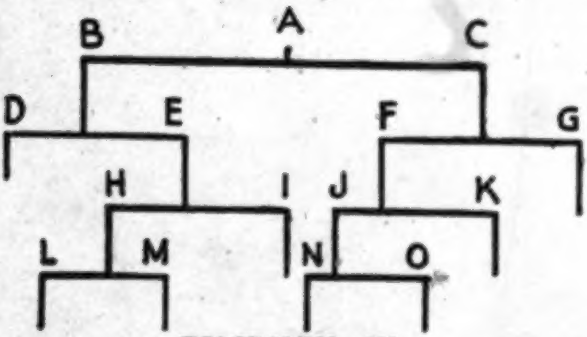

DIAGRAM No. III

persons descended, through males only, from the founder of that particular line. Logically, it also includes dead persons descended from the founder, but these dead persons are only significant in that their genealogical position explains the relationship between the living. The wider agnatic kinship is recognized the further back descent has to be traced, so that the depth of a lineage is always in proportion to its width.

The Nuer clan, being thus highly segmented, has many of the 613
characteristics which we have found in tribal structure. Its lineages are distinct groups only in relation to each other. Thus, in the diagram, M is a group only by opposition to L, H is a group only by opposition to I, D is a group only by opposition to E, and so on. There is always fusion of collateral lineages of the same branch in relation to a collateral branch, e.g. in the diagram, L and M are no longer separate minimal lineages, but are a single minor lineage, H, in opposition to I, and D and E are no longer separate major lineages, but are a single maximal lineage, B, in opposition to C. Hence two lineages which are equal and opposite are composite in relation to a third, so that a man is a member of a lineage in relation

619 614 565 Those clans which are associated with tribes have generally greater lineage extension and depth than those which are not so associated, and the larger the tribe the more significance this association has for the Nuer. It is in the largest tribes, territorially and numerically, and those which have expanded most and assimilated most foreigners, like the Lou and Eastern Gaajak and Gaajok tribes, that we find the greatest attention paid to the distinct and dominant position of the aristocratic clans. Indeed, not only do political relations affect the clan structural form, splitting it into segments along the lines of political fission, but also the clan system may be said to have a corresponding action on the political structure. In a confusion of lineages of different clan origin and in an amorphous network of cognatic links, the political structure is given consistent form, in the language of kinship, by one clan—a single system of lineages—being made to correspond to the tribe and to its structure of opposed segments. Just as a man is a member of a tribal segment opposed to other segments of the same order and yet also a member of the tribe which embraces all these segments, so also he is a member of a lineage opposed to other lineages of the same order and yet also a member of the clan which embraces all these lineages, and there is a strict correspondence between these two sets of affiliations, since the lineage is embodied in the segment and the clan in the tribe. Moreover, the distance in clan structure between two lineages of a dominant clan tends to correspond to the distance in tribal structure between the two sections with which they are associated. Thus the system of lineages of the dominant clan enables the Nuer to think of their tribe in the highly consistent form of clan structure. In each segment the network of kinship ties are given unity and coherence by their common relationship to the lineage of the dominant clan that resides there, and as these separate lineages are composite in relation to other clans so the whole tribe is built around an exclusive agnatic framework. Though the sections may tend to draw apart and to split, a common agnatic value, shared by the dominant lineages contained in them, endures.

IV. Age-set System

561 Another tribal institution is the age-set system, which is socially more significant among the Nuer than among other Nilotic peoples of the Sudan. Nuer boys pass into the grade of manhood through

a severe ordeal and a series of rites connected with it. These initia- 561
tions take place whenever there are a sufficient number of boys of from about fourteen to sixteen years of age in a village or district. All the youths who have been initiated in a successive number of years belong to one age-set, and there is a four-year interval between the last batch of initiates of one set and the first batch of the next set, and during this interval no boys may be initiated. The initiation period is open for about six years, so that, with the four years of the closed period, there are about ten years between the commencement of any age-set and the commencement of the set that precedes or succeeds it. The age-sets are not organized in a cycle.

Nuer age-sets are a tribal institution in the sense that, in the 561
larger tribes at any rate, all the sections of a tribe have the same 614
open and closed periods and call the sets by the same names. They are also the most characteristic of all Nuer national institutions, for initiation scars are the sign of their communion and the badge of their supremacy. Moreover, though each big tribe has its own age-set organization, adjacent tribes co-ordinate their sets in periods and nomenclature, so that the Western Nuer, the Eastern Nuer, and the Central Nuer tend to fall into three divisions in this respect. But even when a man travels from one end of Nuerland to the other, he can always, and easily, perceive the set which is equivalent to his own in each area. The age-set system, therefore, like the clan system, whilst having a tribal connotation, is not bound by lines of political cleavage.

There is usually in each tribe a man whose privilege it is to 561
open and close initiation periods and to give each set its name. [564]
This man belongs to one of those lineages which have a special ritual relationship to cattle and are known as 'Men of the Cattle'. He opens and closes initiation periods in his own district, and other districts of his tribe follow suit. Once a period has been opened, each village and district initiates its boys when it pleases. The age-sets have no corporate activities and cannot be said to have specific political functions. There are no grades of 'warriors' and 'elders' concerned with the administration of the country, and the sets are not regiments, for a man fights with the members of his local community, irrespective of age. In the rites of initiation there is no educative or moral training. There is no leadership in the sets.

167 of expansion and absorption has not been so extensive it has, nevertheless, 101 been considerable. Both Nuer and Dinka myths recognise their common 177 ancestry. It will soon be possible to see how closely their cultures approach one another to-day, but I reserve this comparison until the data is more abundant.

648 131 The Nuer have not been greatly affected by foreign influences owing to their geographical environment. Slight regional differences in environment exist, but their country is throughout hard on man and beast since it consists of an enormous plain which for the greater part of the year is either a parched desert or a swamp. These circumstances make the Nuer difficult to approach and their relations with the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan have, on the whole, been broken and unsatisfactory and culminated a few years ago in open warfare on both banks of the Nile. Subsequently, a more deliberate policy and more systematic control were established for the whole area. At an early period the Nuer came into contact with Arabs, but, though this contact was closer in some parts of Nuerland than in others, I do not believe it anywhere deeply affected their culture.

Sketch map No. I shows the position of the Nuer in relation to the Shilluk and Dinka. The Nuer themselves speak of those tribes which inhabit the country to the west of the Bahr-el-Gebel as " homeland Nuer " (*Nath cieng*) and of those tribes which inhabit the country to the east of the Bahr-el-Gebel as " bush Nuer " (*Nath doar*), and it is convenient to make this distinction also by speaking of these two divisions as Western Nuer and Eastern Nuer respectively.

II.

631 • 619 Nuerland is divided into a number of territorial sections, the occupants of which form political units of the Nuer nation. These territorial sections I will call countries and the political units which occupy them I will call tribes. Thus, the Lou country is a territorial division of Nuerland and the Lou tribe is a political division of the Nuer nation. These tribes are shown on the accompanying sketch map No. II.

The published estimates of population of Nuer tribes will give some idea of their numerical importance.

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619●

EASTERN NUER.

Tribe.	*Population.*		
Thing	10,000[1]	—	
Lou	70,000[1]	100,000[2]	162
Lak	30,000[1]	(+Thiang 40,000)[2]	
Gaawär	50,000[1]	30,000[2]	161
Jekany (Gaajok, Gaajak, Gaagwang)	160,000[1]	200,000[2]	
Total for Eastern Nuer	320,000[1]	370,000[2]	

There is no doubt that many of these estimates are excessive. The latest figures, and doubtless the most accurate ones, have not yet been published, but I have been privileged to see some of them. They place the Thiang at 7,750, the Lou at 19,025,[3] the Lak at about 18,000, the Gaawär at 18,000. There is a probability, therefore, that the Eastern Nuer do not exceed 200,000–300,000 in total number.

Jackson does not furnish figures for the Western Nuer. Those given in the Rejaf Conference Report present a total population of 60,000 for all tribes. The only tribal figures I have seen are based partly on tribal affinity and partly on areas of administration. They are :—

WESTERN NUER.

Tribe.	*Population.*
Dok	11,063 (1927)
Jagei	5,195 (1927)
Nuong	7,421 (1927–1929)
Bul	10,904
Lek (one section)	8,353
Lek (another section + two sections of Jekany)	3,120
Kilual (+ some Jekany)	2,953 (1927)
Jekany (one section)	4,031 (1927)
Total	53,060

I am fairly certain that not every one of the names given on the 619
map represents a tribe in the sense in which I am using the term. The 631
exact nature of these political divisions will be known only as a result of further research. A tribe is defined as the largest political unit within the nation and it has four characteristics : (1) it has a territorial basis, (2) its members have a common name and sentiment, (3) it regulates disputes between its members, (4) it unites for war against other tribes or segments of other nations.

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[1] Is an estimate given by Jackson (*op. cit.*) in 1923.

[2] Is an estimate given in the *Report of the Rejaf Language Conference*, in 1928.

[3] The wide discrepancy between the latest and earlier estimates for the Lou is possibly due in part to inclusion in the earlier figures of the Ngok Dinka and those Dinka who have since been transferred to Dinkaland by the Government.

631 (1) The territory of each tribe is clearly marked off from those
617 of its neighbours. Each tribe has its permanent villages and its fields of economic exploitation. The Lou, for instance, have their tribal grazing grounds, hunting areas, wells and lakes and rivers for dry season occupation and for fishing. The Gaajok also have their grazing grounds, etc., and if the Lou infringe on these there is sure to be fighting unless some arrangement has been reached between the tribal sections concerned.

(2) Each tribe has not only its territory, but its members have a
619 common name and sentiment. Thus Lek, Lou, Lak, Gaawär, etc., *are the names by which the country and its occupants are known. Lou* country is known as *rol looka* (genitive of lou) and Lek country is known as *rol legni* (genitive of lek), and an inhabitant of these two countries is spoken of as *ran looka* and *ran legni* respectively.

I am unable always to give the etymology of these tribal names. Some of them are clan names like Gaajok and Gaawär, since the tribe is named after its dominant clan. I will speak later of the meaning of clan names. Other tribes have stories accounting for their names, but these are in the nature of popular etymology and are sometimes con-
175 tradictory. Thus the Lou and Rengyan tribes have aristocracies sprung
619 from a common ancestor, Denac, and are said to be so called because there was a fight between the herd bulls of the two lineages. A *tut ma lou* (mouse-coloured bull) represented the lineage which migrated to Lou country and a *tut ma reng yan* (bull with fawn markings) represented the lineage which remained behind in Rengyan country (part of the country marked Jagei in the sketch map). Hence the two countries and the tribesmen who occupy them are called after those two bulls. I have heard a similar story accounting for the split which took place between the lineages which give their names to Lek and Kärlual countries. Here again the bulls of the two lineages had a fight, that occupying Lek country being represented by a *tut ma lek* (bull with giraffe-like markings) and that occupying Kärlual country being represented by a *tut ma kär lual* (bull with brown markings). Another man told me that when the original occupiers of Lek country entered it they discovered a pool crowded with a species of fish which they caught to satisfy their hunger, and that, as this species of fish is known as *lek*, the country and tribe
619 were called after them. Jekany is another tribal name of which the meaning is far from clear. Jackson (p. 75) recounts that when Kir

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933

FJ22 Nuer FJ22

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS. PLATE II.

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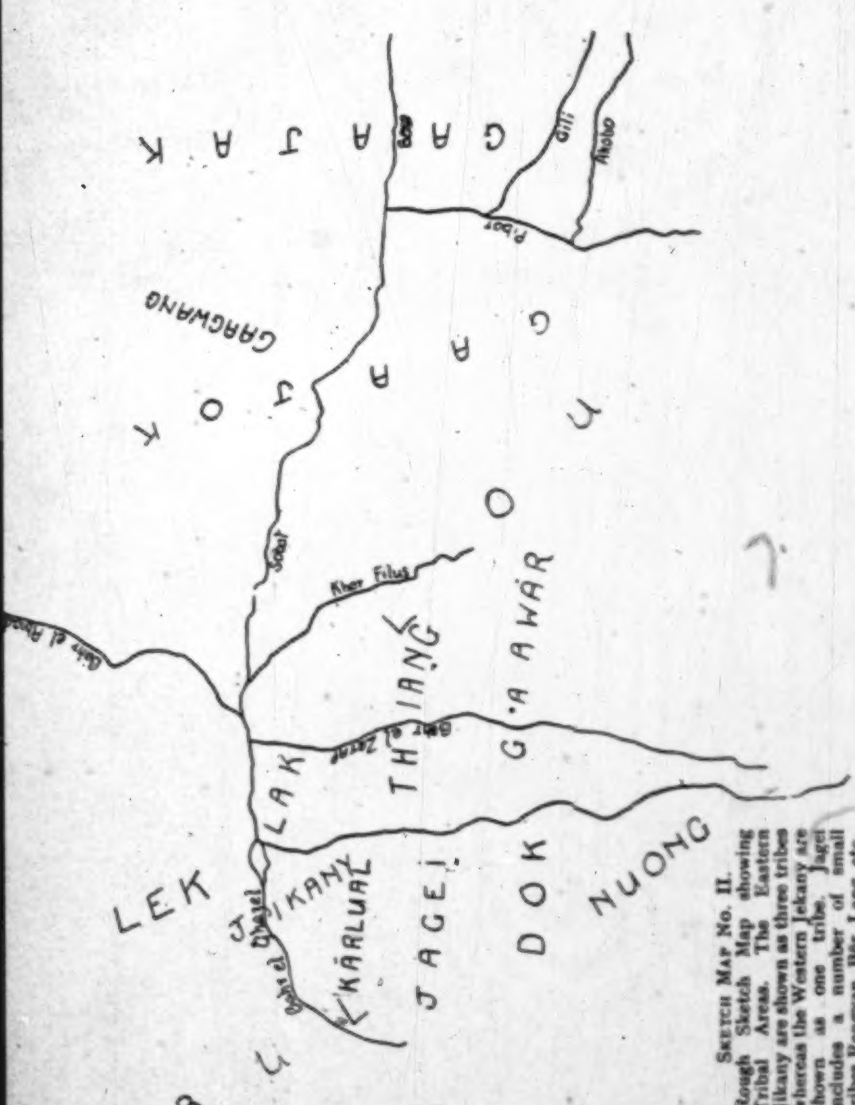
GAAJAK
GAAGWANG
GAAJOK
LOU
BUL
LEK
JIKANY
LAK
THIANG
GAAWAR
KARLUAL
JAGEI
DOK
NUONG
Bahr el Abiad
Bahr el Ghazal
Sobat
Khor Filus
Bahr el Zeraf
Baro
Pibor
Gila
Akobo

SKETCH MAP NO. II.
Rough Sketch Map showing Tribal Areas. The Eastern Jikany are shown as three tribes whereas the Western Jekany are shown as one tribe. Jagei includes a number of small tribes, Rengyan, Bör, Lang, etc.

[facing p. 8]

619 fled from the Dinka who had brought him up they said "*achilo kang* (someone, the stranger) has gone. This phrase became corrupted into the word Jekaing, by which name the descendants of Kir are now known." This is an unlikely explanation, for one reason because the terminal phoneme in Jekany is *ny* and not *ng*, and for another reason, because *ji* is obviously a prefix meaning "people," as in JINACA, the people of Nac, or JIKUL, the people of Kul.[1] By analogy one may suppose that Jikany are the people of Kany, but it is very doubtful if Kany can be regarded as a proper name and equated with Kir, who was the founder of the dominant clan in this tribe and who, we might expect, would furnish the proper name after which the tribe would be called if they were called after a man. One may, nevertheless, I believe, ask a descendant of Kir "*Labi Kany* ?" ("Are you a Kany ?") in the same way as one may ask a descendant of Nac "*Labi Nac ?*" ("Are you a Nac ?"). Some people explain the term Jikany by saying that it is derived from a word meaning palm trees on account of a connection between palm trees and Kir who lived near them or who was found in a gourd on them or at their feet.

186 There can be no doubt that tribesmen have an emotional feeling about their country and hence towards its other occupants. This sentiment arises from common action in warfare, common name, common traditions, common regulation of public life, common territory, and above all from the fact that in each tribe one clan is predominant and forms the iron girders of kinship around which the political structure of the tribe is built up. Except in occasional periods of solidarity, however, when the tribe acts together as a military unit, the sentiments 578 which bind its members together are extremely weak. Thus we find lengthy feuds going on between one section and another within the tribe itself.

619 621 622 (3) Nevertheless, machinery, even though it is cumbrous and not always very effective, exists by which feuds can be prevented or settled sooner or later when they take place between segments of the same tribe, whereas if a member of one tribe kills a member of another tribe there is no definite social machinery for controlling the situation which will arise as a result of the homicide. At the same time it is necessary to point out that the degree of control over retaliation for homicide varies

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[1] In reading proofs I notice that I have written Jikany and Jekany equally but have not thought it worth while to alter. This is also the case with Jimac and Jemac.

619 621 682 628 considerably within the tribe itself according to the size of the section concerned. The smaller the sections involved the greater the control, the larger the sections involved the smaller the control. Thus it is easier to settle a dispute between two villages of the Leng tertiary section of the Lou tribe than between one village of the Leng tertiary section and another village of the Nyarkwac tertiary section (*see* sketch map No. III). This is due to closer local cohesion in the first case than in the second and to closer relationship among the dominant clan element throughout the Leng section than between this element and the corresponding element in the Nyarkwac section. In the same way the Nuer say that there is more likelihood of settling a dispute between fighting factions of Gaatbal and Rumjok secondary tribal sections (*see* sketch map No. III) than between Gaatbal and Jemac secondary tribal sections, since Gaatbal and Rumjok both form part of the same primary tribal section of Gun while Jemac forms part of a different primary tribal section, the Mor. In this case also the dominant elements of Gaatbal and Rumjok sections belong to the same clan while the dominant element of Jemac section belongs to a different clan (*see* diagram No. V). Doubtless this is a statement of general tendency or principle and is, in actual practice, subject to many exceptions due to the special circumstances of the dispute and the genealogical relationship of the parties involved in it.

In kindly criticism[1] of the paper which I read before the British Association Mr. Coriat takes exception to my regarding settlement of disputes among tribesmen as a characteristic of tribal organisation. He points out that " in the past acts of homicide as between members of different Nuer tribes were dealt with by leopard skin chiefs in the same way as with members of tribal groups." I do not wish to pit my slight experience of the Nuer against the great knowledge and long experience of Mr. Coriat. Doubtless many homicide cases between members of different tribes were settled by leopard-skin chiefs. Among all peoples there is a wide divergence between theories of social life and actual social practice. I can only urge that I was constantly told as a legal rule or principle by the Nuer themselves, however little this may accord with actual practice, that among all Lou tribesmen there was *cut* (compensation for homicide) whereas there was no *cut* between Lou

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[1] Privately circulated.

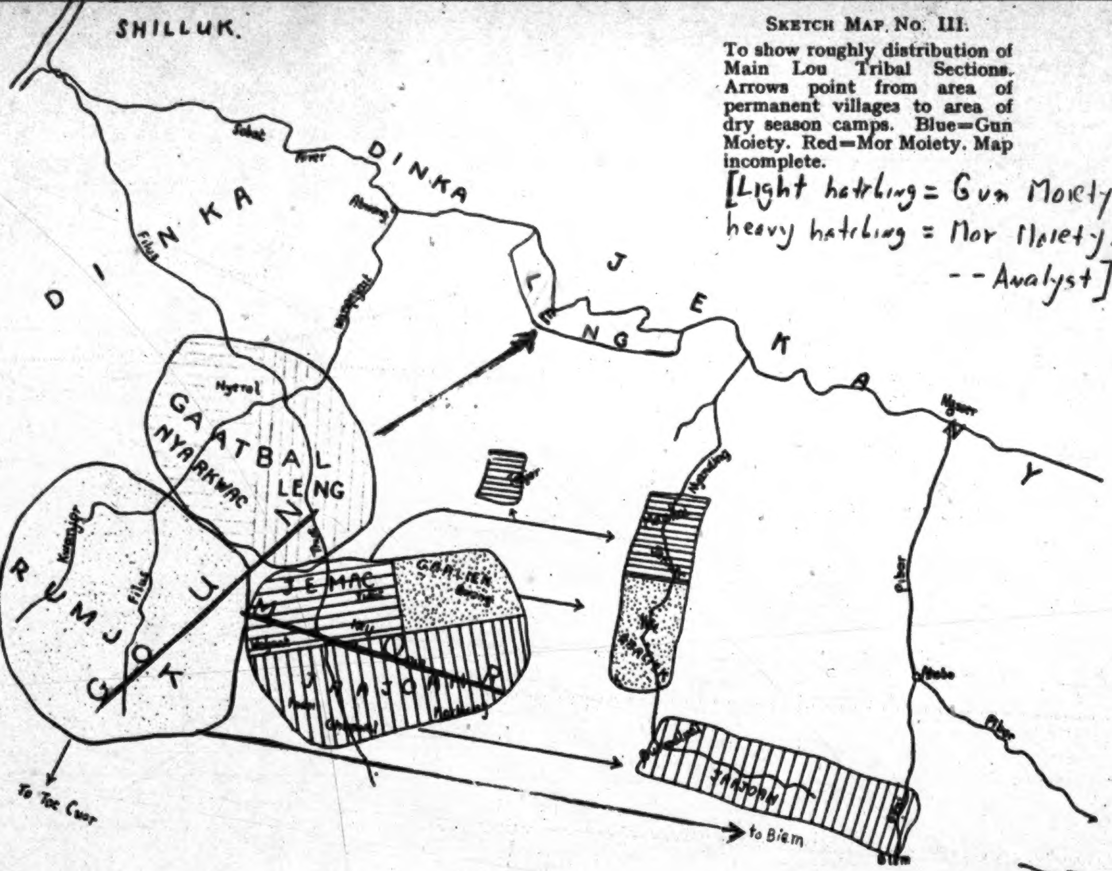
12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933

FJ22 Nuer FJ22

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

PLATE III.

[facing p. 10]


SHILLUK.
DINKA
DINKA
Sobat River
Filus
Nyerol
GAATBAL
NYARKWAC
LENG
LENG
JIKANY
RUMJOK
GUN
JIMAC
GAALIEK
JAAJOAH
MOR
JAAJOAH
Akobo
Pibor
Pibor
Biem
To Toc Cuor
to Biem

SKETCH MAP. No. III.

To show roughly distribution of Main Lou Tribal Sections. Arrows point from area of permanent villages to area of dry season camps. Blue=Gun Moiety. Red=Mor Moiety. Map incomplete.

[Light hatching = Gun Moiety; heavy hatching = Mor Moiety. --Analyst]

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619 and Gaawär or between Lou and Gaajok. In Gaajok country I was
also repeatedly informed that there was *cut* between all Gaajok tribesmen,
621 but no *cut* between them and Gaagwang or Gaajak tribesmen. It is
682 true that tribes are not water-tight compartments. People moved all
628 over Nuerland with remarkable freedom and there are strong social bonds
[587] uniting people with members of tribes other than their own, particularly
[614] the bonds of marriage (there has always been interchange of daughters
between Lou and Gaajok, for instance) and the bonds of clanship (the dominant elements in Gaajok and Gaajak tribes, for example, belong to the same clan since they are all descended from the same ancestor, Kir. Also lineages of the same clan are scattered far and wide among a dozen different tribes, but still recognise their kinship in spite of their territorial disintegration). Nevertheless, the declarations of Nuer on this point must have some significance, and I consider it well to record my own impressions from their verbal statements, together with Mr. Coriat's criticism. The point is important, but not overwhelmingly
619 so. What is of greater significance is that each tribe has its own tribal
624 officials who regulate disputes among tribesmen in so far as their ritual
functions allow them to do so. The Lou leopard-skin chiefs regulate disputes among Lou tribesmen and Gaajok leopard-skin chiefs regulate disputes among Gaajok tribesmen. In virtue of his sacred character a leopard-skin chief (or land expert) can perform his ritual functions irrespective of tribal boundaries, but in the nature of things one does not summon a leopard-skin chief from Gaajok country to function in Lou country, but each district of Lou country has its regular experts who perform whatever services are required of them by fellow tribesmen of their section.

617 (4) Tribesmen unite for defensive and offensive warfare against
721 other tribes and segments of other nations. Messengers summoned
648 Lou tribesmen from all over the tribal area for a combined raid on the
Dinka and those who wished to take part in the raid answered the summons. In such expeditions there was a truce to disputes within the tribe itself and temporary tribal solidarity was attained. Mr. Coriat points out to me, with some justice, that "it is incorrect to state that the tribe is the largest political unit within the nation. Their history can show many instances where two or more tribes have combined in common offence and defence. As an example, Lou and Jekany against the Anuak,

619 Garweir and Lou against the Dinka. In fact, the tribes combined in
721 their first conquests of the Dinka." I was aware of these combinations,
648 but I preferred to regard them as alliances between two political units.
In the same way in Europe, nations, the largest political units of our culture, combine together for purposes of warfare, but they do not lose their political autonomy by doing so. The comparison goes no further. Here again I wish to make it clear that I do not regard Nuer tribes as cohesive, clearly defined, water-tight, political groups. They are surely not. There are constant feuds between segments of the same tribe; there is constant marriage, fraternisation, and recognition of common kinship, between members of different tribes. Moreover, the tribe, as is explained more fully later, comprises within its boundaries a number of fairly cohesive segments cut off from each other territorially and these segments are united to one another by slender links which frequently snap so that new tribes are formed by fission. When tribes allied for warfare, each organised itself separately, so far as I could gather. Thus, when Lou united with Gaajok and Gaajak each organised its fighting force under its own leaders and magicians.

619 In my opinion, the Nuer tribes may be said to have had these political functions even if they carried them out very inadequately, and it is in this belief that I have spoken of the Lou as a tribe which includes two primary sections, the Gun and the Mor, but I have classed the eastern Gaajok, Gaajak, and Gaagwang as three separate tribes rather than as three sections of a Jekany tribe. I admit that the Nuer tribes did not carry out their functions in the clear-cut manner which we find among the tribes of many other African nations, *e.g.*, the Azande. The Nuer tribe is a very fluid affair. It is not a constant and static group, but it is variable and dynamic. The way in which it has segmented is sufficient evidence of this. Fission takes place as a result of slow but continual social changes, the tendency being always that as the tribe gets larger it loses solidarity accordingly, so that it is not always possible to say with certainty when a tribe, in the sense in which I have used the term, is a single tribe with two moieties or whether it would not be more correct to speak of two separate tribes. I do not want to be guilty of the despicable offence of word-polishing. Those who wish to speak of the Gun and Mor moieties of the Lou tribe as two tribes or of the Gaajok and Gaajak tribes as two primary sections of one Jekany tribe are free to do so.

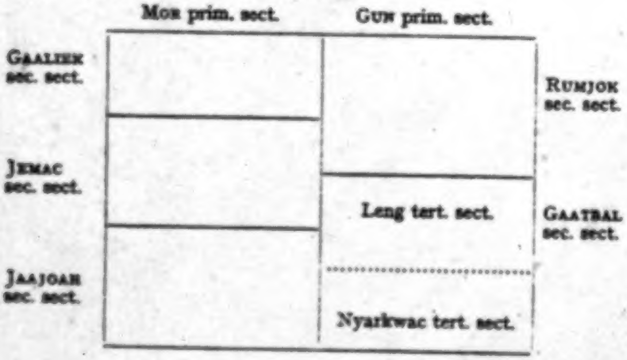
Little harm is done whichever way we speak of them so long as we clearly 619
define what we refer to at the outset. The point to remember is that
" tribe " among the Nuer is a relative term and that what we speak of as
a tribe to-day may not be one in our sense to-morrow. I have even
been told (by Cuol, the Government interpreter at Nasser) that there
was no *cut* between Yol and Wangkac primary sections of the Gaajok
tribe. He told me that there used to be blood-compensation between
these two sections till so many people on either side were killed that it
ceased to function. It is clear, if this is the case, that " tribe " must
be relative, and to some degree an arbitrary and *ad hoc* term. The
only difference between the nomenclature used in this paper and that
usually employed is that I shall regard the three divisions of what is
generally called the Eastern Jekany tribe, the Gaajak, Gaajok, and
Gaagwang, as separate tribes. In doing this I fully realise the arbitrariness
of the usage.

This continual process of segmentation in the tribe is due to the 619
weakening of these bonds upon which the solidarity of primitive groups 161
depends, communal life and kinship. The difficulty of pasturing and 167
watering cattle during the dry season necessitates a sparse population 233
to a large area. The more populous a group becomes the greater becomes
this economic problem which can only be solved by its members going
further and further afield to exploit more distant pastures and water
supplies. This has undoubtedly been one of the causes of Nuer expansion
during the last century. The result is that members of a group become
less and less into contact with one another the larger it grows and the
social and political solidarity of the group is consequently loosened.
Thus, the tribe has the minimum of cohesion, while the small village 619
group which lives together in dry and wet seasons is a closely knit 621
community. The cohesion of other territorial groups between the 602
village and the tribe varies in rough proportion to their size. As will
be explained later, widening of spacial distance goes hand in hand with
widening of distance in blood relationship. For even the bonds of
kinship loosen when kin ceases to be localised and begin to spread over
a large area, because if kin are to function as economic, social and ceremonial agents they must live together. How else can they pasture
their herds in the same plains? How else can they attend the same
weddings and mortuary ceremonies? How else can they act together

619 as a blood-revenge group? Moreover, as will be seen later, Nuer kinship
621 groups are always being diluted by assimilation of unrelated elements,
602 and the tendency is for community of living to supplant community of
blood as the functioning element in Nuer society.

619 We have to bear in mind that segmentation is taking place all the time with every kind of territorial group, from the smallest to the largest, within the tribe, just as it happens to the tribe itself. I shall speak of the largest segments into which a tribe is divided as primary tribal sections, though when these are two in number, as often happens, we may speak of them as tribal moieties, e.g., the Lou tribe is split into moieties of Gun and Mor and, according to Jackson, the Thiang tribe is split into moieties of Ria and Bang. The Gaajok, Gaajak, and Gaagwang, which to-day have the status of separate tribes among the Jekany on the East bank of the Nile, were once primary sections of the Jekany tribe as they probably still are in its western homeland. Now, just as the Lou tribe is split into two primary tribal sections, Gun and Mor, so these sections are split into what I shall call secondary tribal sections, e.g., Gun is divided into secondary tribal sections of Rumjok and Gaatbal, while Mor is divided into secondary tribal sections of Gaaliek, Jaajoah, and Jemac. Each of these secondary tribal sections is split into further divisions which I will call tertiary tribal sections, e.g., the Gaatbal secondary tribal section is split into two tertiary tribal sections, the Leng and Nyarkwac. This may be shown diagrammatically (capitals do not here denote clans) :—

DIAGRAM No. II.
LOU TRIBE.



In the same manner diagram No. III shows the primary sections of the Gaagwang tribe and the primary and secondary sections of the Gaajak and Gaajok tribes. These are presented as accurately as my knowledge permits, but anyone acquainted with the difficulties of unravelling the complex system of Nuer tribal divisions will not be surprised if he discovers sections which he knows under different names or others which he may think should not have been omitted. I do not know for sure what are the secondary tribal sections of the *Gaagwang* tribe. 619

DIAGRAM NO. III.
EASTERN JEKANY TRIBES.

	GAAJOK tribe.	GAAGWANG tribe.	GAAJAK tribe.	
LAANG prim. sect.	Thiur sec. sect.	GAATCIKA prim. sect.	nyayan sec. sect.	GAAGWONG prim. sect.
	Dwong sec. sect.		cany sec. sect.	
	Kwith sec. sect.		wau sec. sect.	
WANGKAC prim. sect.	Minyääl sec. sect.	NYINGER prim. sect.	kŏng sec. sect.[1]	RENG prim. sect.
	Wang sec. sect.		col sec. sect.	
	Nyathol sec. sect.		dhilleak sec. sect.	
YOL prim. sect.	Pwot sec. sect.	NYAANG prim. sect.	tar sec. sect.	THIANG prim. sect.
	Kwal sec. sect.		kang sec. sect.	
	Yiic sec. sect.		lony sec. sect.	
	Cam sec. sect.			
	Kwul sec. sect.			

Each of these tribal sections possesses the characters of the tribe itself, but more intensified. Each has its name, but the smaller the segment the stronger the sentiment associated with it. Each has a territorial basis, but the smaller the segment the more compact the territory, the more contiguous its members. Just as the tribe itself is crystallised around a clan so each segment is crystallised around a lineage of the clan and the smaller the segment the closer the relationship between members of this kinship nucleus. As I have said before, the smaller the area the greater the social cohesion. 619 631

Each of these segments is a political group and an economic group. As a political group it unites for warfare. The principle of unity is as 619 631 628

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[1] Also called Tiek and Yaar.

619 631 628 follows (*see* diagram No. II). Leng tertiary tribal section may fight Nyarkwac tertiary tribal section, and in fact there has been a long feud between the two, but, in theory, according to my informants, if there is a row between Gaatbal secondary tribal section and Rumjok secondary tribal section, Leng and Nyarkwac will unite against the common enemy Rumjok which recruits from the several segments into which it is divided. On the other hand, if there is a fight between the Mor and Gun primary tribal sections, Rumjok and Gaatbal will unite against the combined Mor sections of Gaaliek, Jemac, and Jaajoah. This division of forces is based on the double principle of social cohesion, territorial contiguity and kinship. The Mor sections all live in one part of Lou country and the Gun sections all live in another part of Lou country (*see* sketch map No. III). The dominant lineages of the Mor sections are related closely to each other, while the dominant lineages of the Gun sections are also on their side closely related. However, I was told that in a row of this kind between Gun and Mor primary sections every effort would be made to turn the combat into a harmless armed demonstration (like so much of Nuer combativeness) rather than a regular pitched battle. My informants said that if no one were killed in the preliminary skirmishes the older men would get together and arrange for compensation to be paid for the offence which occasioned the rupture—generally a dispute about the ownership of cattle.

619 721 When a raid into Dinka country was organised Mor and Gun would both contribute warriors to the expedition, since both sections belong to the same tribe and since their dominant lineages are united by kinship bonds.

619 628 631 A similar principle was supposed to operate among the Jekany (*see* diagram No. III). Thus Minyääl, Wang and Nyathuol would combine against Yol. Also Thiur, Dwong and Kwith sections would unite for purposes of warfare. The primary tribal sections were frequently at strife with one another, and in these feuds we again see how closeness of contiguity and kinship are the deciding factors in the combinations. Thus my informants said that Wangkac and Yol will unite for war against another section since the ancestors of the dominant lineages of both sections were sons of the same mother (Nyalieth, wife of Ken, son of Majok). According to this principle Wangkac, Laang and Yol ought to combine against the Gaajak tribe.

However this may have been in theory, in practice these tribal 619
sections were largely autonomous groups and acted as such in their 628
enmities and alliances. At one time they would be fighting among 631
themselves and at other times they would combine against a third party, though the combinations were not as regular and simple as they were explained to me and as I have stated them on paper. I am extremely ignorant about the history of feuds among sections of the Lou and Jekany tribes and I record here the slight data I possess, on the subject. I have already referred to the feud between sections Leng and Nyarkwac of the Lou tribe. This springs out of an earlier feud between sections Thiang and Yol which once formed sub-sections of Nyarkwac. The ancestors of the dominant lineages in the Leng and Yol sections were brothers, whereas the ancestor of the dominant lineage of the Thiang section stood to these brothers in the relation of sister's son. For a long while the Yol and Thiang sections lived peaceably together, but about thirty or so years ago a feud broke out between them and the Thiang section fled, defeated, to seek protection among the Leng section. The Yol sent messengers to the Leng telling them that they were not to receive their enemies or give them a home in their country. The Leng section replied that the ancestor of the LENG lineage was the maternal uncle of the ancestor of the THIANG lineage and that they could not refuse asylum to their sister's sons. This attitude involved Yol (Nyarkwac) in a second feud, this time with a combination of Leng and Thiang.

In Gaajok country the Yol primary tribal section joined the Gaagwang tribe (who seem to have identified themselves so much with the Gaajok tribe that we may almost speak of them as a single tribe separated from the Gaajak by the wide Macar swamps) against several (if not all) sections of the Gaajak tribe. I have a note that Yol fought Nyayan while Gaagwang fought Reng and Kang sections.

It appears that about half a century or more ago the Laang and 619
Wangkac primary sections of the Gaajok tribe were involved in a long 621
feud and that there was warfare between the Yol and Wangkac sections. 628
In the course of this warfare Yol were assisted by their allies the Gaagwang 166
tribe and together they defeated the Wangkac so heavily that they moved to the far south along the Pibor river in the neighbourhood of Beirland. Here they say that they were attacked by " Turuk " and fled north again

619 621 628 166 to the site of their old homes but were then too exhausted to resume their feud with the Yol section.

Another recent feud in Lou country was, I believe, that between Falkir and Nyajekany tertiary sections of Rumjok primary section, and there have been others between various sections of the Mor moiety, particularly between two sections of the Jimac[1].

619 621 628 The commonest occasions of feuds are probably related to economic activities. One section pastures its cattle on grazing grounds over which another section has rights of ownership—rights, as we shall see later, which derive from clan heritage and are divided among the chief lineages of the clan; or men of one section attempt to water their cattle at the wells of their neighbours; or there is conflict over fishing rights. For a tribe is an economic group and so is each of its sections. This is shown in map No. V, for which, together with map No. IV, I am indebted to the industry of Mr. C. L. Armstrong. The curved lines show areas of permanent villages of the Gaagwang tribe and the main sections of the Gaajok and Gaajak tribes, while the straight lines show the area of their dry season encampments. Map No. III was drawn up by myself after questioning Lou tribesmen and is intended to give an idea of the areas of the dry and wet season occupation of the Lou, but I was unable to visit more than a fraction of the area in person. It is, therefore, not likely to be so accurate as Mr. C. L. Armstrong's map of distribution. Both maps show the annual movement of the sections from their permanent villages to their annual watering places and pastures in the dry season. 221 133 The whole of Nuer life follows the rhythm of the seasons. I will describe this rhythmic movement as briefly as possible as I hope to write a separate paper on Nuer economic life. The major parts of Jekany and Lou countries are huge, flat, treeless plains of cotton soil. Where there is a slight rise in the plain the spot is selected as the site of a permanent village consisting of well-built huts and cattle byres. Where there is a dip in the plain we find rivers, pools and swamps. The Sobat river begins to fall about December when the rains decline and as it falls it drains the streams into which it has emptied its waters earlier

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[1] I take this opportunity to add a footnote to explain that I have not been consistent in my use of Nuer spellings for tribal sections and clan lineages. Thus a clan lineage may be called after a man called Kwe, but his descendants will be *gaat* kwith and his village *cieng* kwith. A clan is called after a man yi and becomes *cieng* yie, or after yoal and becomes *cieng* yol. I fear that I have sometimes used the nominative and sometimes the genitive cases. Hence on Map No. V Yoal and Wangkeac may be read as Yol and Wangkac.

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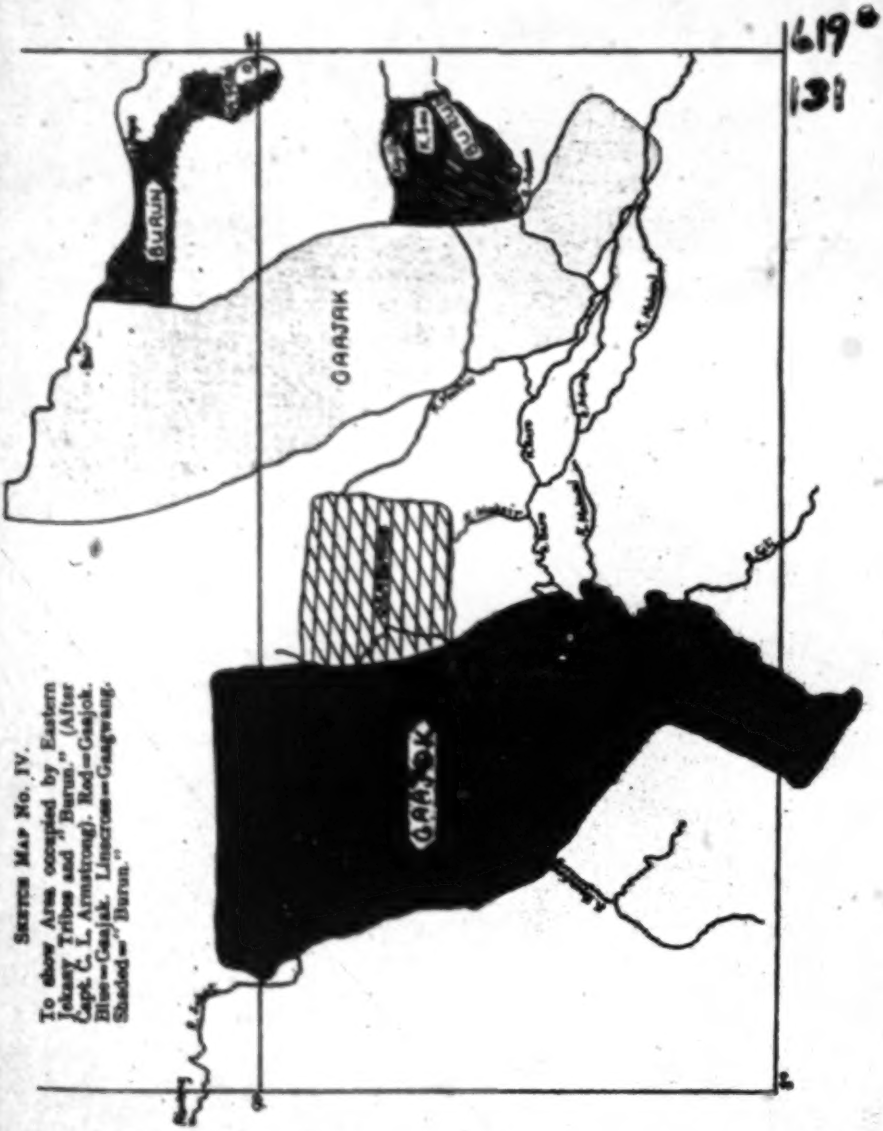
BURUN
BURUN
GAAJAK
GAAJOK
R. Baro

SKETCH MAP No. IV.

To show Area occupied by Eastern Jekany Tribes and "Burun." (After Capt. C. L. Armstrong). Red=Gaajok. Blue=Gaajak. Linecross=Gaagwang. Shaded=" Burun."

[facing p. 18]

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homestead. *Ciengda* (my home), in the singular, generally means "my homestead" where I live with my family, whereas *ciengdan* (our home) means usually "our hamlet" or "our village." Thus a man will say "*wa ciengdan*" ("I am going (to our) home") in reference to his village, such as the village of Pakur (Lek), but if he is already in the village of Pakur and says "*wa ciengdan*" ("I am going (to our) home") he means that he is returning to the hamlet where he and his relatives live in a particular section of the village. If he is in the hamlet and says "*wa ciengda*" ("I am going (to my) home") he means that he is going to his hut or cattle byre. I remember making a mistake in this way when I used to say "*wa ciengdan*," meaning that I was off to my tent, for which the Nuer would good-humouredly rebuke me, saying, "Isn't this, our camp, your home?" whereas when I said "*wa ciengda*," in the singular, it passed without the criticism which the Nuer unfailingly bring to bear on any error in grammar or pronunciation. *Cieng* thus means homestead, village, district, tribal sections, homeland and even "home" in an unspecified sense, e.g., it may be said in a story *nyaang ce wa cieng* (the crocodile went home) or *jicieng* (villagers), etc., etc.; for this reason I use the word as little as possible.

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There is a further reason for avoiding its use, and though I shall have occasion when speaking of the Nuer clan system to mention it more fully I will refer to it in this place. The *cieng*, in the sense of homestead, is called after the man who lives there, e.g., the homestead occupied by Rainen is called *cieng* Rainen. When Rainen is dead and his sons and nephews live together in a hamlet they will call the hamlet after him and it will be said that they live in *cieng* Rainen. If Rainen was an important enough man and founded a strong enough lineage, the whole village where his descendants and strangers who have intermarried with them live will then become known as *cieng* Rainen. In course of time his descendants will have multiplied and will occupy a district or a large tribal area which will come to be known as *cieng* Rainen. Hence it comes about that many of the tribal sections I have mentioned as examples for the use of *cieng* are called after persons, e.g., Minyäl, Dumien, Wangkeac, Gaathal. As will be explained more clearly later a lineage thus becomes identified in speech with the territory which it occupies—the district occupied by the major lineage of WANGKEAC, for example, being known as *cieng* Wangkeac. The Nuer then talks

about the district and the lineage which lives there as interchangeable 361
terms and speaks of *cieng* WANGKEAC in the sense of the WANGKEAC lineage. 196
This leads a European into depths of confusion since the WANGKEAC 619
lineage and the people who live in the village of Wangkeac are by no means the same thing. I shall have occasion to plumb these depths of confusion, into which I have myself been long plunged, in the following sections.

Cieng, in the singular, e.g., *ciengda* (my homestead), is the same as *gol* in the singular, e.g., *golla* (my homestead), and *cieng* in the plural, e.g., *ciengdan* (our hamlet), which means the same as *gol* in the plural, e.g., *gollon* (our hamlet). The literal meaning of *gol* is the large dung fire which occupies the centre of every cattle byre. During the wet season this is kept continually alight and serves to keep mosquitoes away from the cattle and the young men who sleep on a platform above it, while during the daytime people sit around it and chat. In the dry season the *gol* is a huge heap of ashes enclosed by a windscreen and around it sleep the inmates of the windscreen and there also they spend a large part of the day watching their cattle, drinking milk, sleeping and smoking. This dung fire signifies the home and especially symbolises the household from the point of view of its male occupants since women have their own cooking fires. *Jigoalla* (the people of my *gol*) are the people of my household, especially the menfolk of my household. *Gol* Cam or *gol* Pec is the homestead or windscreen of Cam or Pec and hence means the household of Cam or Pec. *Ran gol* Cam is a member of Cam's household and *jigoal* Pec is the household of Pec, i.e., the people who habitually live in his homestead and make use of his cattle byre.

The only other Nuer word I will draw attention to in this place 823
is *dor*. I think that the most comprehensive meaning of *dor* is what is 196
not actual homestead. The word generally means " bush " in contrast to *cieng* (home), e.g., " *wa dor* " (" I am going into the bush " almost " I am going out ") is the opposite to " *wa cieng* " (" I am going home "). Different parts of the bush can be designated by some conspicuous landmark as the *dor* of such and such a thing. The word is noticed in this place because it is often used to refer to the unoccupied land lying around a homestead or hamlet which is used for sowing maize or on which goats and sheep and calves graze. In this sense *doran* (our dor) has much the same meaning as *ciengdan* (our *cieng*), though the former word seems

823 196 rather more inclusive. But both are used to refer to "our home," "our hamlet," "our village." Thus Pakur (Lek tribe) village is divided up into a number of hamlets, and one may speak of each hamlet with the unoccupied land around it which divides it off from neighbouring hamlets as a *dor* and designate it by some landmark, e.g., *dor ngop* (the part of the village which lies near the *gameiza* (fig-tree)), *dor wich kwer* (the part of the village which lies around a sandy eminence) and *dor thok rwop* (the part of the village which borders the forest). As we have already noticed, such territorial expressions become identified with the people who occupy the territory, so in this case we may speak of Cuol *ngop* and Cuol *wich kwer*, the section of the Cuol lineage who live near the *Gameiza* tree and the section of the Cuol lineage who live near the sandy eminence.

I mention these three Nuer words, *cieng*, *gol*, and *dor*, because they are so frequently heard on Nuer lips and to explain that my reason for using them so seldom in the text is that they refer to so many different things according to the context in which they are spoken.

III.

621 I have spoken of the clan as forming the iron girders upon which the political structure of the tribe is built up; I have spoken of each tribe having a dominant element within it; I have mentioned that the territorial groups of Nuer country integrate themselves around a kinship nucleus and that their cohesion depends upon this nucleus as much as upon communal life or locality; I have remarked that as the ties of kinship become more and more distantly stretched they weaken and that they weaken also by the dilution of kinship with other elements and that both these processes are reflected in the manner in which tribal groups segment. These assertions need explanation. It is very difficult to analyse Nuer society without repetition because when we speak of the tribe we are also speaking of political aggregates which crystallise around some clans. Yet it is imperative to keep these two groups, the tribe and the clan, distinct if endless confusion is to be avoided. Much of the confusion of Jackson's account is due to the fact that he did not clearly differentiate between them. 619

361 Herein lies a great difficulty. The Nuer tribe always has a name
614 derived from the name of the country which it occupies, e.g., one may

speak of Lou tribesmen as *ji looka* (people of Lou), or of Lek tribesmen 619
as *ji legni* (people of Lek); but generally this name is also the name of the 361
clan, for a country is often called after its first occupants and owners, 614
e.g., Gaawär is the name of the tribal territory of the tribesmen who occupy it, and presumably, for I have not been there, of the clansmen who form the dominant element in the tribal territory. GAAJAK and GAAGWANG are clan lineages who have given their names to the countries where they live. To eliminate this difficulty I have throughout written tribes and tribal sections in small letters and clans and clan lineages in capitals. Hence if I say that a man is a Gaawär I mean that he is a man inhabiting Gaawär country, i.e., a member of the Gaawär tribe, whereas if I say that a man is a GAAWÄR I mean that he is a descendant in the male line from Wär, i.e., a member of the GAAWÄR clan. I will give two more examples to make this point quite clear. If you ask a Lou man what is his *cieng*, you are asking him where he lives, what is his homestead, village or district. Suppose that he replies that his *cieng* is *cieng* Pual, you can ask him what his *cieng* forms part of, and he will tell you that it is part of *cieng* Leng, giving the name of a tertiary tribal section. If you continue to interrogate him he will inform you that *cieng* Leng forms part of *cieng* Gaatbal, a secondary tribal section, and he will explain that *cieng* Gaatbal is a division of the Gun primary tribal section which is a moiety of the Lou tribe. But he has told you nothing about his clan relationship. He may or may not be a member of the PUAL clan lineage which forms a part of the LENG lineage, which forms part of the GAATBAL lineage, which forms part of the clan of JIMACA or GAAT GAN NACA, the people of Nac or the children of the children of Nac. In the same way, if a Jekany man tells you that he belongs to *cieng* Kwith of the Gaatjok, it does not follow that he is descended from Kwe (Kwith) who is descended from Kun (whose bullock name was majok), but he merely means that he lives in a tribal section occupied by the KWITH lineage which forms part of the tribe occupied by the GAAJOK who are a principal lineage of the GAAT GAN KIIR, the children of the children of Kir. I shall shortly explain the meaning of these lineages.

Owing to the fact that the Nuer have no word for clan, as we understand the group, and that they have no stereotyped modes of referring to clansmen, we are in some difficulty in writing about them. The 614

613 from which the different lineages branch out. Similarly, he might have 614 given you a smaller minor lineage before giving you *cieng* PUAL in answer to your first question, what is his *thok dwiel*; *e.g.*, he might have said that he was a member of the KWOOTH or MALUAL lineages (shown in the accompanying tree, diagram No. V). Each lineage is a branch in relation to the twigs which shoot out from it, but is a twig of the larger branch from which it sprang. The following two trees of descent are appended to illustrate graphically the Nuer system of lineages. One represents a JINACA (Lou tribe) lineage and the other a GAT GAN KIIR (Jekany tribes) lineage. In each diagram only one line of descent is shown from the roots to the twigs, from the clan ancestor to the families of to-day, but the other main branches and boughs, the other major and minor lineages, are indicated where they leave the stem.

These trees and genealogical tables may be compared with the maps (Nos. III, IV, and V)[1] which show the distribution of tribal sections among the Lou tribe and the Eastern Jekany tribes.

614 619 The descendants of Nyaang, son of Denac, form the nucleus of the Gaaliek primary section; the descendants of Bal, sons of Denac, form the nucleus of the Gaatbal primary section; the descendants of Dak, son of Denac, form the nucleus of the Rumjok primary section. The only sections shown on the map which are not accounted for in the genealogical tree and table are the Jaajoak and Jimac sections which have clan nuclei of foreign origin.

We must guard against thinking that because most of the Lou primary sections are called after sons of Denac that they are solely composed of these lineages. This would be a serious error, as in all probability true descendants from Denac in these sections are in a small minority. Large foreign lineages are included in the areas designated by a title taken from any of the sons of Denac (*e.g.*, the THIANG lineage in the Gaatbal primary section) and there are innumerable families of stranger (Nuer) and Dinka descent clustered around families of true GAATNACA origin. Thus, if one visits the villages or cattle camps owned by minor lineages which spring from the GAALIEK major lineage, the lineages of LÖNGNGUÄR, NYAANEN, KUOOK, one will find them occupied by a relatively small number of members of these lineages while most of the residents will be found to have sprung from other Nuer and Dinka clans.

[1] [See facing pp. 10, 18, 30, category 116.-- Analyst]

565 614 ●619 The descendants of Majok Kiir form the aristocratic nucleus of the Gaajok tribe; the descendants of Mathiang Kiir and Kun Kiir form the aristocratic nucleus of the Gaajak tribe; the descendants of Gwang Majok and Nyang Mathiang form the aristocratic nucleus of the Gaagwang tribe. Thus, on map No. V,[1] these lineages are shown as tribal sections, i.e., they have given their names to the tribal sections which have aggregated to them. Here the three main lineages descended from Majok, LAANG, YOL, and WANGKAC, are shown as Laang, Yol, and Wangkac. None of the foreign lineages is of sufficient magnitude to be shown separately, but it must not be supposed for this reason that the descendants of Majok form anything but a fragment of the Gaajok tribe. In the same way the Gaagwang tribe comprises all sorts of foreign elements besides the descendants of Nyang Mathiang[1] and Gwang Majok. The same applies to the Gaajak tribe. As far as my information goes the GAA(T)GWONG lineage are completely united in tribal life with the GAA(T)JAK lineage and so are classified as forming part of the same Gaatjak tribe. In the map the primary sections of Lony, Kang and Tar are all called after descendants of Mathiang and the primary sections of Nyayan, Cany and Wan are all called after descendants of Kun. Hence, in map V, the only section not accounted for in diagram No. VIII[2] is the primary section of Reng,[2] the nucleus of whom are of mixed foreign origin.

614 [582] The clan is the largest lineage which consider themselves as one for purposes of exogamy. This is the minimum definition of a clan. In theory the clan preserves the same form as the smaller lineages which comprise it because it is supposed to be possible to trace the exact genealogical relationship of any member of the clan to any other member of it. Doubtless this can generally be done by a panel of competent genealogists, but most Nuer tend to confusion in the upper stages of ascent and either miss out or misplace names between the ancestor of their clan and the founder of their minor lineage. In consequence of this confusion which is associated with the social functions of clan and lineages there is a tendency for clansmen who do not also belong to the same minor lineage to have an undifferentiated relationship to one another, recognising their kinship to one another through common membership of a social group rather than by genealogical relationship. Hence they tend to recognise

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[1] Nyang was the biological son of Mathiang, but as he was born of one of Kir's wives he is strictly a son of Kir.

[2] I believe that Reng is the bullock-name of Gying, the founder of the most important clan lineage in the Reng primary section of the Gaajak tribe. One of the secondary sections of this tribe is called Diilleak which is, I think, a bullock-name of Bicuk, son of Gying.

[1] [See facing p. 30, category 116.--Analyst]

[2] [See facing p. 36.--Analyst]

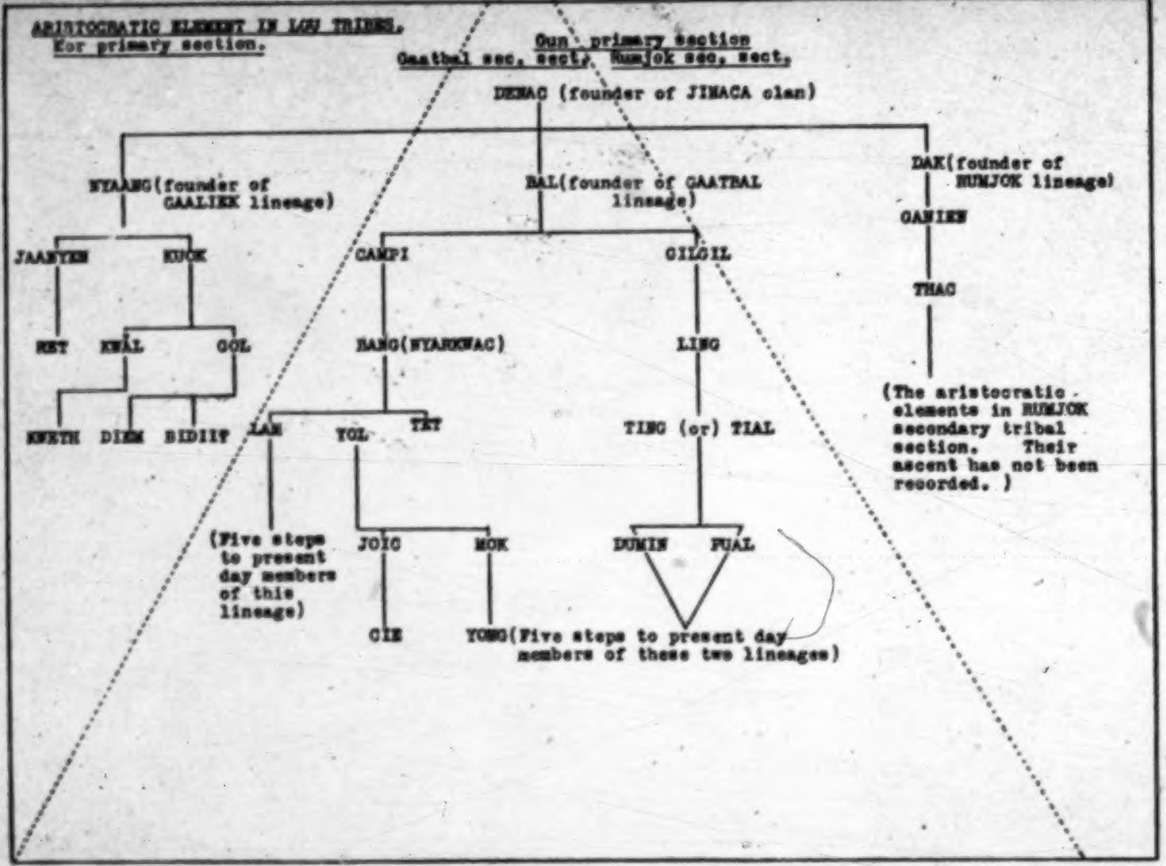
ARISTOCRATIC ELEMENT IN LOU TRIBES.
Mor primary section.
Gun primary section
Gaatbal sec. sect. Rumjok sec. sect.
DENAC (founder of JINACA clan)
NYAANG (founder of GAALIEK lineage)
BAL (founder of GAATBAL lineage)
DAK (founder of RUMJOK lineage)
GANIEN
THAC
JAANYEN
KUOK
CAMPI
GILGIL
RET
KWAL
GOL
RANG (NYARKWAC)
LING
KWETH
DIEM
BIDIIT
LAN
YOL
TET
TING (or) TIAL
(The aristocratic elements in RUMJOK secondary tribal section. Their ascent has not been recorded.)
(Five steps to present day members of this lineage)
JOIC
MOK
DUMIN
PUAL
CIE
YONG (Five steps to present day members of these two lineages)

Diagram No. VII.

[facing p. 34]

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

PLATE VII.

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933

FJ22 Nuer FJ22

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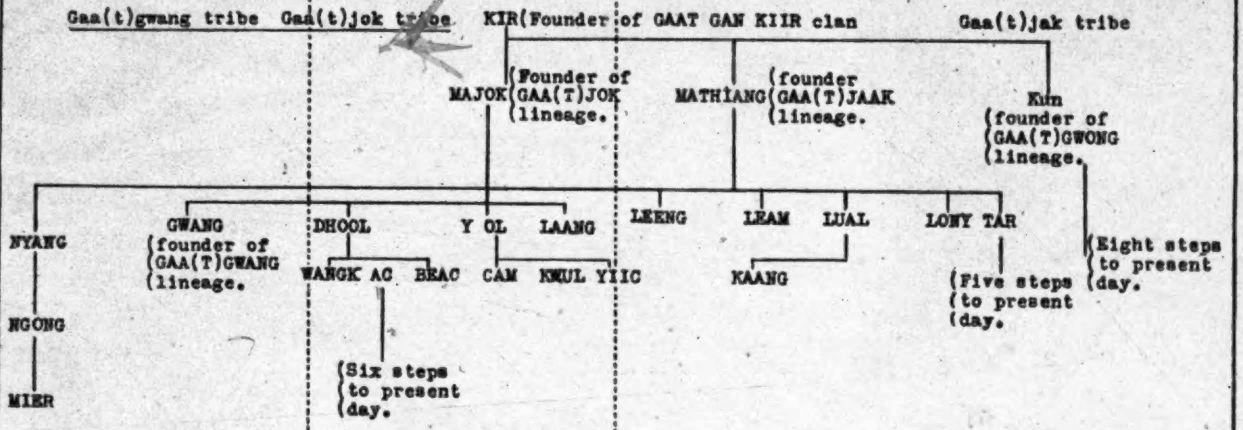
614 their common kinship by a common sentiment towards the clan name and ritual symbols and by the prohibition of marriage between their [613] families. But when they belong to the same minor lineage they recognise their kinship by awareness of the exact relationship in which they stand to one another in the genealogical system. Nevertheless any competent Nuer genealogist can, if pressed, produce a good table of genealogical ascent to the founder of his clan with the result that it is possible, even in such a huge clan as the Gat Gan Kiir of the Jekany tribes, to place every single clansman and clanswoman on a single genealogical chart showing their genealogical descent from Kir and, therefore, the genealogical relationship of any clansman to any other clansman. Such a chart would not be likely to embody a correct genealogy, but it would be recognised by the Nuer as being substantially correct.

614 Consequently one cannot say that relationship ends with the clan
●619 or that it is the largest of Nuer lineages, but we have to define it as the largest exogamous lineage. For the common ancestor of most Nuer clans is the same person. Jackson has given a very good account of the way in which the Nuer clans are part of a related system which I propose to call the Family of Nuer Clans. It is necessary to say that it is not at all clear from Jackson's or other accounts, including my own notes, how this family of clans are inter-related. It is particularly a problem which requires detailed research among the "Homeland Nuer" to the west of the Nile. One of the reasons why it is difficult to draw more than an approximate tree of the Family of Nuer Clans is the confusion which has always existed between the tribe and the clan, with the inevitable result that when we are told that Lou or Lak are sons of such-and-such an ancestor we are helpless, since tribesmen of Lou and Lak form political aggregates of composite ancestry and cannot possibly have common ancestors. What is meant is that the dominant clan element of the tribe are the sons of the such-and-such an ancestor, but as his tree of descent is not given it is difficult to proceed upon such a supposition.

614 I will condense here the main discoveries of Mr. Jackson in this field,
173 together with the writings of the late Capt. Fergusson and notes taken
773 by myself. There figure in all accounts certain mythical persons who
[776] link the ancestors of the Nuer clans to Kwoth, God, who made them and from whom they are directly descended. In this essay the first persons we need notice are Gee and Ghaak, two brothers who are possibly to be

[facing p. 36]

Aristocratic element in Jekany tribes.



Gaa(t)gwang tribe
Gaa(t)jok tribe
KIR (Founder of GAAT GAN KIIR clan
Gaa(t)jak tribe
MAJOK (Founder of GAA(T)JOK lineage.
MATHIANG (founder GAA(T)JAAK lineage.
Kun (founder of GAA(T)GWONG lineage.
NYANG
GWANG (founder of GAA(T)GWANG lineage.
DHOOL
Y OL
LAANG
LEENG
LEAM
LUAL
LONY
TAR
NGONG
MIER
WANGK AC
BEAC
CAM
KNUL YIIC
KAANG
(Six steps to present day.
(Five steps (to present (day.
(Eight steps to present day.

Diagram No. VIII

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

PLATE VIII.

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6192
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614 173 773 The ancestor of the JIKUL clan is also said to have fallen down from heaven, and Jackson says that he was fostered by Gee to whose division his descendants considered themselves attached. Nowhere do they form a dominant clan element in a tribe but are scattered among many tribes.

The late Capt. Fergusson speaks of these two national divisions as Ghraark and Gair. On the western bank Ghraark are Nuong, Adok, and Gwai; and Gair are Bul, Lake, Jakaing, Bur, Naijh, Wad, and Lung.[1]

619 614 Considering the confusion which has existed between clan and tribe, Jackson's classification into the Gee and Ghaak[2] groups cannot be regarded as exact though it may well be conventional. I was given a somewhat similar division myself by a man from the west bank of the Nile. But it appears at first sight that there are two pertinent criticisms of the classification. In the first place several clans are obviously missing, e.g., JIDIET and JIMEM. In the second place it is doubtful what line of descent is reckoned when speaking of a tribe as descended from Gee or Ghaak, e.g., the Lak tribe apparently comprises two main lineages, *gaat twot* Dok, children of Dok aristocrats, and *gaat nya* Legni, children of Lek aristocrats through the female line and of doubtful parentage through the male line. Whilst, even if this is correct, they would both belong to the Gee group of clans in a conventional grouping it is of some importance to know their exact mode of descent.[3] Under the circumstances we can only make a conventional classification which is a mixture of clan and tribal units and wait till further research elucidates the true state of affairs. It is possible that the Family of Nuer Clans is correctly described in confused and hazy terms, since it may well be conceived by the Nuer without logical system. For it may be pointed out that errors are often not the fault of observers like Jackson or myself but are due to the hazy notions which the Nuer themselves have about their ancestry, at any rate on collateral lines. Thus one well-informed man told me that the aristocratic lineages of Lou, Rengyan, and Thiang tribes are all descended from Denac by his three

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[1] Unpublished Government report.

[2] Besides A'ak (Jackson) and Ghraark I have heard the name Gwea, and one old man said that there were three brothers, Gee, Ghaak, and Gwea—Ghaak producing the aristocratic lineages in Kwe, Jaluk, Beegh countries, and Gwea producing the aristocratic lineages in Dok, Nyuong, Gaaktwac, and Rol countries.

[3] One informant, Tut, said that the Gaawär tribe count as belonging to the Ghaak group and the Lak tribe as belonging to the Gee group, though it is difficult to know exactly what he meant.

619 614 sons Bany (bull(ock) name *ma low*), Yini (bull(ock) name *ma rengyan*) and Thiang, a genealogy which differs from those already given in this paper. Only detailed research by several observers in different areas can finally solve the problems, for solutions cannot be deduced satisfactorily from our present data.

In our account of the tribe we explained how a continual process of fission is going on and how when we speak of a tribe we are using a relative term, since it is difficult to know whether we should speak of a single tribe with moieties or of two separate tribes. Exactly the same process of segmentation is going on within the clan, since a tribe is a political aggregation round a clan or clan lineage. Thus the clan, like its political superstructure the tribe, is also going through a constant process of integration and segmentation. Division into lineages here corresponds with territorial division into tribal sections. Our statement that the larger the territorial area covered by a tribe or a tribal segment the weaker its cohesion finds its kinship counterpart in the tendency for the solidarity of a lineage to weaken the more it expands. Weakening bonds of kinship re-enforce spacial division in destroying communal interests in tribal life just as spacial division re-enforces widening kinship breaches in undermining community of blood. For example, the division of the Lou into two moieties of Mor and Gun is not simply a political and spacial division but is also a kinship cleavage between the descendants of three sons of Denac, Nyang, Dak and Bal, or to state the position in other terms, the division between the sons of Nyang, Dak, and Bal is not simply a creation of genealogical distance but also of political and spacial distance.

613 614 621 The clan itself has practically no social cohesion; a major lineage has greater cohesion than the clan of which it forms part but less cohesion than one of the minor lineages into which it is divided. A minor lineage has great solidarity as has the village or district which represents the minor lineage with its political aggregate clustered around it. Here close ties of blood are backed up by community of daily life. Thus the GAT NACA display little communal feeling in their social behaviour, the major lineage of GAATBAL on the contrary, owing to their symbiosis, their common political and economic interests, and their close kinship bonds, show a much stronger tendency to regard themselves as a distinct social group.

613 621 A minor lineage like the PUAL lineage of the GAATBAL are a community really well knit by common residence and blood who lead a common economic, political and social life. If one takes a smaller lineage still, like the MÄR lineage (see diagram No. V), one reaches the strongest unilateral unit in Nuer society, a unit whose members herd their cattle by communal arrangements; who build their huts contiguously and cultivate gardens side by side; who act as a blood revenge group in case of the homicide of one of their kin; who assist one another in providing cattle for marriage or homicide payments; who act as assistants at all important ceremonies; and who in general co-operate as a mutual assistance society for all purposes of social insurance. At least this is how I understand the relative cohesion of clan segments, though I feel that there is a leaning towards theoretical conclusions not adequately supported by a strong foundation of facts in my presentation.

613 614 619 621 631 The difference between kinship groups and political groups and their interwoven structures may now be demonstrated by a simple diagram though our definitions of groups are too elastic to permit an exact correlation between kinship and political units.

DIAGRAM No. IX.

Clan + aggregate of strangers ... ... = Tribe.
Major Clan lineage + aggregate of strangers = {Primary tribal section.
Minor " " " " = {Secondary tribal section. Tertiary tribal section.

614 We have the same difficulty in deciding in some cases whether to speak of two clans or of one clan with two major lineages as we had in deciding whether to speak of two tribes or one tribe with two moieties. Thus the JINACA are descended from Denac or Nac. So also are the RENGYAN and perhaps also the THIANG[1]. All these people are therefore JINACA, the people of Nac. Are we, therefore, to speak of them as one clan or as three clans? In other words, can a man of the Lou JINACA marry a woman from the Rengyan JINACA? At present I have no means of deciding this question since Lou and Rengyan are so far apart that normally the question of intermarriage would not arise. It is impossible even to express an opinion on the matter until we know something about the genealogies of the Rengyan JINACA. If they belong to the same major lineages as the Lou JINACA, namely the lineages of GAALIEK, RUMJOK and GAATBAL, we

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[1] I write RENGYAN and THIANG in capitals, though correctly speaking I suppose we should write the JINACA of Rengyan and Thiang tribes.

614 may safely regard them as one clan. This is possibly the case, since the Lou JINACA left their homes in Rengyan to conquer their present tribal area. On the other hand they may represent a distinct line of descent from Denac. There is not the same certainty as there is for the history of the children of Kir, a part of whom journeyed from their home on the Bahr-el-Ghazel to the tribal areas of the Eastern Jikany. The GAAJOK, GAAJAK, GAAGWONG and GAAGWANG major lineages are found both among the Eastern Jikany and the Western Jikany, and they still belong to one clan, since a man of the Eastern GAAJOK lineage may not marry a woman of the Western GAAJAK or GAAGWONG lineages. It is possible that in time the GAAJOK lineage of the GAT GAN KIIR clan will split away from the GAAJAK lineage and that two separate clans will be formed by fission. The Nuer themselves speak as though this may happen since they say that a GAAJOK man may "not yet" marry a GAAJAK woman. "*Ngote thicha*," "they are still close" (in relationship), say the Nuer, suggesting that it will one day be possible, a suggestion in keeping with their acceptance of a scheme of clans all ultimately descended from Gee. I have found that informants lay great stress on the fact that Gee bisected a bullock and thus enabled the clans descended from him to intermarry whereas Kir did not perform similar ritual, with the result that intermarriage between the clans descended from him is prohibited. Nevertheless I cannot produce a sure example of clans splitting into two or more exogamous lineages. Even when political fission takes place as between the Gaajok and the Gaajak the clan maintains its unity, and a GAAJOK man and a GAAJAK man are still members of a single exogamous clan.

IV.

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All tribesmen live in the same country. A man may emigrate to another country, but if he settles there he and his children become members of the tribe among whom he has settled. When we speak of the Lou and Rengyan we speak of the people who live in Lou and Rengyan countries. Clansmen on the other hand do not all live in the same country, the great majority of them may do so but not all of them. Thus probably the majority of JINACA live in Lou country and Rengyan country, but by no means all of them live there. Many JINACA live scattered among other tribes. Moreover the number of JINACA clansmen who live

in Lou country and Rengyan country forms only a small proportion of the 641
total population of Lou and Rengyan tribesmen. Again, Gaajok country 614
contains a dominant element of GAT GAN KIIR clansmen of GAAJOK 619
lineage, but they are dominant in the Gaajok tribe on account of their traditional ownership of the country and not on account of numerical superiority, for they probably compose only a small minority of the tribe. Also not all the GAAJOK live in Gaajok country in the Eastern Jekany area, since a large part of the lineage live in the Gaajok primary tribal section of the Jekany tribe to the west of the Nile and smaller lineages of the GAAJOK are scattered throughout most, if not all, Nuer tribes. The GAAJOK form an excellent illustration of this difference between clan and tribe, since the GAAJOK of the Eastern Jekany and the GAAJOK of the Western Jekany cannot obviously be fellow tribesmen on account of the vast area which separates their countries and since they never act together in any collective undertaking. On the other hand they are [582]
equally descended from Majok the son of Kir and hence are all members of the same lineage of the same clan. For this reason they are all brothers and sisters and forbidden to intermarry.

But though the clan is not a territorial group nevertheless many clans are largely localised. Thus the descendants of Mathiang are mainly living in the two countries of Eastern and Western Gaajak. The descendants of Nac are mainly living in Lou and Rengyan countries, and the descendants of Wär are, I presume, mainly living in Gaawär country. But this by no means holds for all clans. There is no tribal area in which the JIMEM mainly live or in which they have the position of owners of the soil, but they are scattered far and wide throughout the length and breadth of Nuerland. The same is true of the KIEK, JIDIET, BEEK and JIKUL, and a number of other clans.

When a clan is mainly localised in one tribal area it forms an aristo- 614
cratic element there. The JINACA of Lou country lived originally with 619
the JINACA of Rengyan country, but they split off from them and 554
conquered Lou country from the Dinka. Here they were the first occu- 565
pants, or more correctly the strongest element among the first occupants, and became "owners" of the country. Any other clansmen who came to live in Lou tribal area had to attach themselves on to the JINACA. The GAT GAN KIIR clan moved from their homeland to the west of the Nile and conquered the land, which they own to-day, on the eastern side of the

614 619 554 565 Nile, from the Dinka, and settled there as lords of the country. I think that it will probably be correct to say that every Nuer tribal area has its *diel* (sing-*dil*) clan owners, aristocrats, dominant element, but that not every clan has an area in which they are *diel*. There are possibly countries on the west bank of the Nile in which more than one clan rank as *diel*. Though it has not been recorded that such a system exists among the Dinka it is worth mentioning that the Nuer tell one that the Dinka also speak of *diel* in their various tribes, e.g., they talk of *dil thoini* and *dil luaica*, members of the clans which own Thoc and Luac tribal areas respectively.

The great point to remember about Nuer *diel* is that a man is a *dil* only in the country owned by his clan. Thus a member of the JINACA or GAATNACA is a *dil looka*, that is to say, that he is a *dil* in Lou country but nowhere else. If he moves to Gaajok country he ceases to be a *dil* and becomes instead a *rul* or stranger. He may still call himself a *gat dila looka*, a Lou aristocrat, but he does not count as a *dil*, aristocrat, in Jekany countries. In the same way a *dil Jekany* is a direct descendant in the male line from Kir, but when such a man crosses Lou country he becomes a *rul* or stranger. *Dil* therefore means a member of the clan which owns the country in which he lives. Hence members of a clan such as the JIMEM or JIKUL which have no tribal territory of which they can call themselves masters are nowhere *diel*. One may nevertheless speak of a *dil* JIMEM in the sense of a "real" or "pure" member of this clan in contrast to Dinka who have attached themselves to it.

614 619 554 565 [181] I do not wish to be misunderstood when I speak of a tribal aristocracy based on a clan predominance in a tribal area. The Nuer are intensely democratic and the idea of one man lording it over the others is abhorrent to them. However there is a prestige in being a *dil* of the country in which you live. Your clan are owners of the country, its village sites, its pastures, its fishing pools and wells, and other people live there by virtue of marriage or adoption into your lineage or because they are prepared to recognise your hereditary status and to join your local group on the understanding that they are strangers and on sufferance. It is the spear-name of your clan which is shouted when the tribe makes war. In some tribes [632] the advantage of being an aristocrat are more concrete. Among t Eastern Jekany tribes the blood-money which is paid for a slain *dil* is apparently higher than for any other Nuer who may be killed in the same

countries. There is some doubt about the exact organisation of blood- 614
cattle (*cut*) in old times. This uncertainty is partly accounted for by the 619
undoubted elasticity of assessment, for we should make a mistake in 554
supposing that the number of cattle paid over in compensation for 565
homicide was invariably the same or that there was a rigid definition of 682
social status. It is also partly accounted for by the fact that the *cut* was not identical in every Nuer tribe. The evidence seems to show that the greatest differentiation in assessment of blood-cattle between different classes in the community was to be found on the periphery of Nuer culture, among the Eastern Jekany, where the greatest absorption of foreigners
has taken place. There I was given the following table of assessment for 554
a late (probably post-European) period in their history :— 614

Gat dila Jikany (a member of the GAT GAN KIIR clan), 619
15 cows and 5 bullocks (20). 682

Gat Geeka (a member of any pure Nuer clan), 563
12 cows and 5 bullocks (17).

Jaang dila (a Dinka who has permanently settled in Nuer country and has attached himself to a Nuer social group),
11 cows and 5 bullocks (16).

Jaang (a Dinka, pure and simple, who has not yet become a permanent member of Nuer society),
8 cows and 2 bullocks (10).

In the old days it appears that 40 cattle was the regular payment for homicide in the case of a member of the dominant clan in Jikany countries, and for this pre-European period I was given the following table :—

GAT GAN KIIR	40 cattle.
Gat Geeka	40 cattle.
Jaang buthni (an adopted Dinka)	20 cattle.
Jaang (Dinka—unadopted) ...	6 cattle.

There is one main discrepancy between the first and second tables. In the second a pure Nuer of any clan is classed as the same for purposes of blood-cattle as a member of the GAT GAN KIIR clan, while in the first he is classed lower. I was never able to make up my mind which of these two estimates—I have been given others which differ slightly from both—was the correct one since, while members of the GAT GAN KIIR clan in Jikany country assured me that payment for killing a member of any other Nuer clan in their country was less than for killing a member of their

554 614 619 682 563 own clan, members of these other clans, who here count as *rul* or strangers, assured me that payments in both cases were equal. Assurances on both sides were clearly coloured by recent practice which has been based on government rulings at different times and by what regulations they hoped the Government would institute in the future. On the whole I consider that there was probably a differentiation between members of the dominant clan and members of other clans, but that the differentiation was not rigid and depended upon the special circumstances of each case, when length of residence in the country, marriage alliances with members of the dominant clan, and so on, were taken into consideration.

Quite definitely, however, there was a clear difference made between Nuer and Dinka in the assessment of blood-cattle compensation. This difference is found all over Nuer country, though there seems to have been difference of opinion in different parts of Nuerland about what constitutes a Dinka for purposes of homicide payments. Among the Lou the practice was to class members of the dominant clan, the JINACA, and members of the other Nuer clans together and make 40 cattle (32 cows and 8 bullocks) the regular payment for both. The son of a Dinka born in Lou country was considered to have become a Nuer (*caa Nath*) and his death was also compensated for by 40 cattle; but a captured Dinka or visiting Dinka or a Dinka who had taken up his abode in the country was reckoned as a *Jaang* and was compensated by only 6 cattle (4 cows and 2 bullocks). A Dinka even when given *buth* appears to have counted as *Jaang* and not as *Nath*, but his children were reckoned as Nuer for homicide purposes. Two informants told me that in Jagei country on the west bank of the Nile compensation for homicide was reckoned as follows:—

Gat dila (member of the dominant clan in the tribe),
34 cows and 6 bullocks (40).
Rul who [illegible] built his cattle-byre,
34 cows and 6 bullocks (40).
Rul and *Jaang* who have not built their cattle-byre,
6 cows and 4 bullocks (10).

The point of stressing the building of a cattle-byre was that a man who built one, whether a Nuer stranger or a Dinka, had obviously come to stay and became a permanent member of your social group and a member of your village. He became "your man" (*randu*), who owed you a kind of allegiance and who relied on your protection. Hence he is assessed on

the same footing as an ordinary resident born into the community. On 554
the other hand I was told by some Eastern Jekany Nuer at Nasser that 614
once a Dinka always a Dinka was the rule, and that the children and 619
grandchildren of Dinkas never counted as equal to pure Nuer in blood- 682
cattle assessment. I regard this statement, however, as being, in all 563
probability, too rigidly formulated.

The second element in a Nuer village are the *rul*. A *rul* is a stranger, 554
one who is not a member of the *diel*, one who has no place in the lineage 614
of the dominant clan. Such people may be more numerous than the clan 619
itself but they have not the same hereditary status in the tribe. 173
Sometimes their lineages compose powerful tribal sections and in these 773
sections they form a dominant lineage of their own. They are linked by sociological ties, often mythological in form, to the *diel* of the tribe. Thus the powerful sections of Reng and Köng of the Gaajak tribe are not *diel* but *rul*. The Reng section is united to the genealogy of Kir by the supposition that Reng the founder of some of its lineages (COL and DHILLEAK) was equivalent to *gat manlen* (mother's sister's son) to Kir, his mother being a sister to the Ngok Dinka woman who nursed Kir and brought him up, while the founder of another lineage of this section, the KŎNG, was a man called Tik, who is described in the Kir myths as having given him supernatural assistance and saved his life from avengers. The JEMAC and JAAJOAH clans, which give their names to two secondary tribal sections[1] of the Lou tribe, are not of the dominant Lou clan, the JINACA, but are nuclei of two large segments which, together with the Gaaliek section, comprise the Mor moiety. Here again there is a myth which unites them to the *diel* of the tribe. Denac (Nac) is said to have had four sons, Yin, Dak, Bal and Bany, by one wife, and Nyaang and two brothers, who are nameless, by another wife. Nyaang's two brothers were killed by a strange monster, which figures often in Nuer mythology, and is known as a *let*. When the sons of Denac went fishing the four full brothers went on their own and Nyaang by himself, for he would not accompany his brothers. Consequently when he caught a fish someone would come and steal it from him as he was all by himself. When he came home he would not sit on the ground facing his father as the other sons did but sat apart by himself with his back to his father and gazing in the opposite direction. When his father asked him what was the matter with him, he replied that he was thinking of his two

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[1] In the Jemac section are included the important JAAGWETH lineage who are supposed to be distantly related to the JEMAC.

554 brothers whom the *lei* had eaten. His father said to him, "Never mind,
614 take your two sisters and let them be your brothers." So in future when
619 Nyaang went fishing he went with his sisters Nyabil and Fadwai. Nyaang
173 is the founder of the GAALIEK lineage, Nyabil of the JEMAC lineage,
773 Fadwei of the JAAJOAH lineage. Whenever we find large sections living
as *rul* in a tribe we may expect to discover that bonds have been created between them and the *diel* by myths of the kind cited above. This mythological patent gives them a status in the tribe which is nearly equal to that of the *diel* and amounts to adoption into their kinship framework.
[611] This is often accomplished in Nuer society through the kinship value
of the mother's line, for although lineages are, for purposes of descent, reckoned widest through the male line and comprise only agnates in respect to the inheritance of certain clan heirlooms, nevertheless descent through the female line has powerful recognition and there is a tendency for the kinship group to take the form of an association of cognates, of men and their sons and daughters and the children of sons and daughters. When strangers come to live in the village of *diel* and marry into their families there is always a drive towards matrilocal conditions, and descent through the mother is stressed so that the lineage of the strangers' sons is traced to the mother and through her linked to the clan of *diel*. We have already cited a good example of this process in the case of the JEMAC and JAAJOAH clans who trace their descent to the name of their ancestresses while the names of their husbands have been forgotten. Nevertheless, in spite of this, they form separate exogamous groups since they cannot be members of the clan of their ancestresses. They are *gaat nyal*, children of daughters, in contrast to *gaat twot*, children of "bulls" or children of sons. However, in some respects the original daughter who gave birth to the stranger's lineage is treated as though she had been a son, as the myth about Nyaang explicitly states, so that the lineage which springs from her still grows on her own genealogical tree. In this way there is always a tendency to translate bonds of contiguity into bonds of kinship.

554 Not all strangers form such important lineages as the THIANG, JEMAC,
614 JAAJOAH (Lou tribe), GAAT TIEK, GAAT REANG (Gaajak tribe). Many
619 *rul* are members of small lineages of strangers living in the midst of other
621 small foreign lineages all of which are aggregated around a nucleus of
gaat twot. Thus in Lou country, among the Lou aristocratic element, the

JINACA, one finds many members of such clans as the JIMEM, JUAK, 554
KIEK, KWERMOANG, in every section. These clans have no longer a *wec* 614
(a home) of their own. Thus there is a story that the JIMEM once had 619
a big *wec* but when some of them were absent their food was eaten by their 621
brothers. This led to a quarrel, which resulted in the dispersal of the 1175
clan, and now, like the other clans mentioned above, they have no central homeland. There is, however, said to be a small JIMEM pocket near Lek country.

In the migration of the Nuer eastwards across the Nile there does 721
not appear to have been any systematic colonisation, if we except the 167
Jekany occupation of Dinkaland. Parties of warriors would raid the 614
nearest Dinka homesteads and carry off their boys and girls and cattle. These warriors at first returned home with their spoil but later a portion of them settled down with their wives and families and built homesteads to the east of the Nile, where they were still in touch with their relatives across the river. Slowly there was a drift further and further eastwards, and whilst the bulk of the conquering warriors belonged to one clan originally there followed a steady infiltration from other clans whose members attached themselves to the original conquerors and settled among them. Also it must be presumed that before the Nuer crossed the Nile and conquered the Dinka country, which lay to the east of that river, some clans were already nuclei of political aggregation from other clans and from Dinka not unlike the aggregations which we find of the west bank of the Nile to-day. At the present time, moreover, families move freely about the country and attach themselves to new local groups into which they marry. Especially does this seem to be the case among the Western Nuer where there is a perfect jumble of small clan lineages. The link between newcomers and the lineages among which they settle is not so much the link of marriage as of descent, since the birth of a child unites the two families of husband and wife by a genealogical link and the sons of the wife become children of the husband's lineage and sister's children of the wife's lineage.

The manner in which lineages split up was well described to me by a 614
Dok man. Members of a lineage give birth to children and they become numerous and spread over the countryside, wandering here and there and everywhere (*cike dak piny*). Then their close relationship (*mar*) ends (*ci mar thuk*). They go and live in the midst of other clans who are

614 distantly related to them (*nike nik ke ji baithna chien*). Here they dwell as friends (*wane ngac kɛ rɔ*) and slowly forge new relationship by intermarriage (*ca mar mat e ken*).

609 576 621 I believe that there is another Nuer word which means the same as *rul*, namely, *yian*. Thus one speaks of strangers living in the village of *diel* as *yiankien*, "their strangers dwelling in their midst." They are strangers because they have no hereditary status in the *wec* save through their mothers. Nevertheless *rul* and *yian* are objectionable terms by which to address strangers and would not be used without danger of strong words following. In speech they are assimilated to the dominant lineages and in this way the homogeneity and cohesion of the local group is asserted. One does not make a division between people who live with one, share one's cattle camp and village, help one in feuds, and quarter their herds in common pastures. Hence even if a man is a *rul* (or a *yian*) one does not make allusion to the fact in his presence. Still less does one make allusion to a man's Dinka or other non-Nuer parentage by calling him by the offensive term *jaang*. These strangers are accepted as equal members of the *wec*.

614 621 One of my informants, Jok, explained modes of Nuer aggregation very clearly. No *dil* (or *tut*) dwells in a social milieu entirely composed of fellow *diel* (*gaat tuot*), for the usual tendency is for *diel* to split up and for the segments to seek political autonomy on their own and found their own social conglomerate in which they will form the aristocratic nucleus. Hence a *wec* has its nucleus of *diel*, and around this nucleus are gathered a host of *rul*, who are often the husbands of daughters and sisters of *diel* who have not left the village of their fathers and brothers on their marriages but whose husbands have built their homesteads in their wives' localities. It is important to bear in mind that these girls cannot marry a *dil* or *tut* but are compelled by exogamous rules to marry into the classes of *rul* and *jaang*. Their children often grow up in the village of their maternal grandfather and his lineage are regarded as their kinsmen while their father's lineage are comparative strangers, and for this reason they tend to trace their descent through their mother rather than through their father and thus hitch on to the genealogical system of the *diel*.

614 c 609 Hence there is always a tendency towards fusion between two lineages who form part of the same tribal section. This is not simply due to the fact that there is often a real or mythological relationship between

the ancestor of one lineage and the ancestress of the other (as with the 614
Jinaca and the Jimac), but is owing also to the fact that their two 619
sections continue to intermarry all the way down their line of descent, since the marriage of a man of lineage A into lineage B does not prevent his cousin marrying into lineage B also. In course of time the two lineages become so intermarried that it is impossible for them to continue to intermarry without breaking exogamous rules. Thus I was told that the Gaaliek lineage (*dial*) and the Jimac lineage (*rul*) in the Mor moiety of the Lou tribe had reached a stage when a Gaaliek man could no longer marry a Jimac woman, though he might marry a descendant of a Jimac woman two or three generations removed.

As we shall see later, captured Dinka are adopted into Nuer families, 641
and as they have no cattle they necessarily depend for sustenance and 597
marriage upon the family of their adoption. They forge descent through 614
the men who have adopted them and their lineage becomes grafted on to the genealogical tree of descent of their foster fathers so that their children count for most purposes as *gaat twot*. Often *rul* and *jaang* who are poor will come and live near a generous man of whom it is said " He is poor and has nothing because he has given everything away "—a great compliment. Such dependants will be provided with marriage-cattle by their patrons and they will bring their wives to the *wec* of the man who has befriended them, and here their children will be brought up as children of the *wec* and count almost as *gaat twot* since they were born through the cattle of a *tut*.

A lineage of *dial* split up as a result of internal dissension and also 614
because a man of personality likes to found his own independent settle- 624
ment where he will be an important person rather than remain a younger 621
brother in a group of influential elder relatives. This, Jok told me, is a reason why the Nuer are dissatisfied with the present arrangements made by the Government, which have as their object the creation of local " chiefs " whose position tends to become formalised, permanent, and hereditary. To them this is a rigid interpretation of political power based on a territorial rather than personal basis which stabilises the control of a single man or lineage in a country where every Nuer carries his baton in his knapsack. It does not follow that a man must be a *dil* to gain influence among his fellow villagers. He may be a *tut* of some other lineage than the dominant lineage of his tribe who has been able to

refuge among the Western Dinka to avoid the Arab slave raids and, later, the conflict between the Dinka and Azande. They are rapidly being absorbed by the Dinka and are consequently losing their Jo Luo customs and dialect. They are said to number 1,000 - 2,000 souls approximately. 000

NEIGHBOURS

The neighbours of the Dinka include the Nuer. There has been conflict between the two for a long time and relations have been predominantly warlike and marked by interminable cattle raiding. In the north east the Dinka are in contact with the Shilluk while, in the south west, in the Bahr el Ghazal province, there is the confusion of tribes in the neighbourhood of Wau. Among the Wau district tribes there is the Nilotic Jo Luo (Jur) who have been in immediate contact with their Dinka neighbours for a number of generations and have been subordinate to them to a certain extent.

POPULATION

Total population has been estimated at 500,000 souls approximately.

NOMENCLATURE

The Dinka name for themselves is *Jien*. Dinka is believed to be the anglicised form of the Arabic *Denkawi*, from *Jien*.

THE NUER

LOCATION

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The Nuer inhabit the savannah stretching on both sides of the Nile south of its junction with the Sobat and Bahr el Ghazal rivers and on both banks of the two tributaries. The Nile divides the Nuer country into two parts, Eastern and Western Nuerland. According to Evans-Pritchard the most important tribal groups of the Western Nuer are: the Bul, Jagei, Lek, Nuong and Dok. The most important tribes of the Eastern Nuer are: the Thiang, Lak, Gaweir and Lou.(1) The Jekany tribes are found on the west bank of the Nile and also far to the east of the Sobat river where they extend over the Anglo-Egyptian border into Abyssinia.

NEIGHBOURS

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The western parts of Nuerland are in direct contact, and usually conflict, with their Dinka neighbours. Nuer expansion has been at the expense of their Dinka neighbours and it is generally recognised that much of present day Nuer country was Dinka in the middle of the 19th century. Relations between Nuer and Dinka will be discussed in the account of the Nuer political structure. The Shilluk are separated from the Nuer by the Dinka, except in a small area, and there has been little contact between the two groups, perhaps owing to the more highly organised society of the Shilluk which renders them difficult to raid with impunity. The Nuer give the

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(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, 1940, p-8 (map).

721 reason that the Shilluk have no cattle and they only raid people with cattle.(1) Although in direct contact with the Anuak in the far eastern parts of Nuer territory, tsetse fly and absence of cattle make the area unsuitable for encroachment and the Anuak were only occasionally raided by the Nuer. When rifles were introduced and the Anuak could defend themselves they retaliated with raids on the Nuer. The Burun were occasionally raided by the Nuer for captives. Other communities, Arab and those of the Nuba mountains, were raided only occasionally. Except for the 829 Beir whom the Nuer appear to have respected, and the Dinka whom they fought, most foreign peoples were classed by the Nuer as *Bar*, that is, cattle-less folk, or people possessing few cattle. Another category was *Jur*, cattle-less people whom the Nuer regarded as lying on the outskirts of their world; these included the Azande, Europeans, and the Bongo etc., although the Nuer have differentiating terms for most of them.

POPULATION

161 Official estimate of population is 260,000. Estimates for the various tribes are given approximately as follows by Evans-Pritchard.(2)

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THE EASTERN NUER

The Sobat Nuer				The Zeraf Nuer		
Gaajak	Gaagwang	Gaajok	Lou	Lak	Thiang	Gaawar
42,000	7,000	42,000	33,000	24,000	9,000	20,000

THE WESTERN NUER

Bul	Leek	3 Western Jikany Tribes	Jagei Tribes	Dok	Nuong
17,000	11,000	11,000	10,000	12,000	9,000

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101 The Nuer call themselves *Naath*, (sing. *Nath*). The Shilluk, Arabs and Dinka call them *Nuer*. The Nuer also speak of the tribes west of the Bahr el Jebel as *Nath cieng* - 'the homeland Nuer', and of those east of the river as *Nath doar* - 'Bush Nuer'.(3)

THE ATWOT

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These appear to be a Nuer tribe, speaking a Nuer dialect, but having adopted many Dinka habits. They are situated in the Lakes district south west of Yirrol, south of the Dinka; they number 31,600 approximately. Little is known of them.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, 1940, p.132.
(2) Ibid. p.117.
(3) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.207.

tribes. The people in a district intermarry, conduct feuds, go raiding together, and so forth. 634

Nowhere in Nuerland do environmental conditions permit complete autonomy and exclusiveness of small village units. Pastoral pursuits and the needs determining transhumance cause concentrations of people and co-operation for half the year in dry-season camps, thus creating a wide inter-dependence which is lacking among the Anuak and many other tribal groups. 621

TRIBAL CHARACTERISTICS

Each tribe has a name, occupies a particular territory and owns and defends its own building sites, pastures and water supplies. Large rivers, or wide stretches of uninhabited country, generally divide adjacent sections of contiguous tribes, and these sections tend to move in different directions in the drought. Members of the same tribe have feelings of cohesion and fellowship with each other which do not extend to members of other tribes.(1) The age sets are organised tribally. 619

The tribe is the largest group of which the members habitually combine for raiding and for defensive measures. During the period of military unity, there is a truce to internal disputes. Inter-tribal fighting is fierce but is subject to certain conventions concerning women and children which do not extend to fighting between Nuer and Dinka or other neighbours. 617 721

Within a tribe compensation *(cut)* is paid for homicide. This is the invariable definition of tribal allegiance in every part of Nuerland.(2) Between tribesmen there is also *ruok* - compensation for torts other than homicide. If a man kills or injures a man of another tribe no breach of law is recognised; no obligation is felt to settle the dispute and there is no machinery to do so. 619 682 683

A tribe is a segmented structure in that it consists of a number of small divisions, each occupying a particular part of the tribal territory. There is opposition between these segments as well as a certain co-operation and cohesion. 619

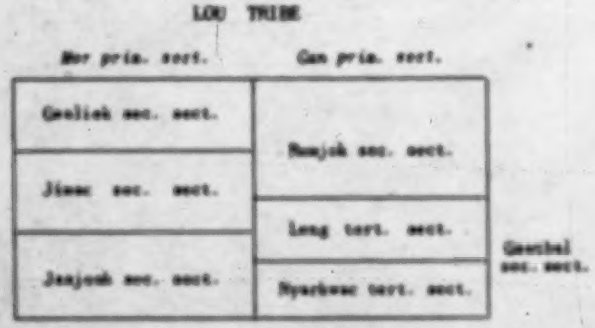
Within each tribe there is a dominant clan and there is a close relationship between the lineage structure of this clan and the various territorial segments of the tribe. This is of the greatest importance for understanding Nuer structure and organisation.

Nuer tribes have no common organisation or central administration making for political unity in the generally accepted sense of the word. Yet adjacent tribes do form a political system and, in spite of inter-tribal opposition, will display a united opposition to different neighbouring groups.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, 1940, p.121.
(2) *Ibid.*

TERRITORIAL SEGMENTS

619 Nuer tribes are split into a number of segments. For example, the Lou tribe is segmented into Gun and Mor primary sections; Gun primary section is segmented into Rumjok and Gaatbal secondary sections and the Gaatbal secondary section into Leng and Nyarkwac tertiary sections. A tertiary section consists of a number of village communities. The diagram given by Evans-Pritchard to illustrate this tribal segmention is reproduced below.(1)



[721] All other Nuer tribes follow this pattern, although the degree of segmention may vary according to the size of the tribal unit. The segments of a tribe have the same characteristics as a tribe, but the smaller the segment the stronger the sentiments of unity. Each segment of a tribe tends to have its own special dry-season pastures. Each segment in its turn has a segmented structure and there is opposition between its parts. Members of any segment unite for war against adjacent segments of the same order and unite with these adjacent segments against larger sections. For example, if there is a fight between Mor and Gun primary sections Rumjok and Gaatbal (the secondary segments of Gun primary segment), will unite against the combined Mor secondary sections. Both primary sections (each comprising all their smaller segments) will unite against another tribe. This principle of segmentation and the opposition between segments is the same in every section of a tribe and even extends beyond the tribe.(2)

578 The Nuer distinguish between various types of hostility:

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1. *Dwac.* Individual duelling.
2. *Ter.* A feud within a tribe where compensation can be made.
3. *Kur.* A fight between tribes where no compensation can be made.
4. *Pec.* Raiding Dinka.

578 When a man conceives himself to have been wronged there is no court of law to which an appeal may be made. The only method of settlement is by a duel. Boys fight with spiked bracelets; men of the same village or camp

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, 1940, p.139.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.143.

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DIFFERENTIATION OF STATUS AMONG THE NUER

There are three categories in a Nuer tribe: *diel*, *rul* and *jaang*. 614

The dominant clan is *diel* and members of other clans settling after 554
the establishment of the dominant lineage are *rul* (strangers). Not every
member of a clan lives in a tribe where his clan has a superior status; a
man is a *dil* (an aristocrat) only in the tribe in which his clan is dominant, for the status of *diel* derives from residence on land owned by the
clan. Prestige, not authority or any particular power, is attached to the
diel; they are owners of the land, the village sites and pastures.
Strangers live on the land through some link with, and the recognition of,
the true owners.

A *rul* (stranger) is a Nuer who is not a *dil* in the tribe in which he 554
lives. He may be influential, highly respected and even a *tut* (bull), 609
though not belonging to the aristocratic clan. He may, indeed, group
round him an entire village community in spite of the presence of several
tribal aristocrats in the same village; in this respect personality and
influence may count for more in everyday local affairs than a particular
lineage affiliation.[1] In fact, in the everyday life of a village community, the only socially significant difference between aristocrats and
strangers is in the assessment of blood cattle, and this is only found
among the Jikany tribes.

'Tribal bulls', on the other hand, belonging to a lineage of the 613
dominant clan of a tribe, are far more important in the political system 554
than the *rul* bulls, for they are centres of clusters of kin and are also
agnates, each having in relation to the others a structural position in
the lineage system of the dominant clan.[2]

A Dinka adopted into a joint family in a *jaang* to the people of the 597
family. To people outside the family he is a member of it and his status
is not differentiated; he has all the rights and obligations of other
members. Only the assessment of his value in blood cattle differentiates
him from the Nuer.

Strangers may be attached to the dominant clan by adoption or by [614]
marriage.

Kinship values are the strongest sentiments and norms in Nuer society, 602
and all social interrelations tend to be expressed in kinship idiom.
Since there are no headmen or councils or any of the usual forms of govern- 621
ment, it seems that kinship values, combined with the position of the
dominant lineage and its linked stranger lineages, are the originating
agencies and the means of unity in each community.

The political system of the Nuer is constituted by the relations be- 621
tween territorial segments in the tribal system; cohesion and organisation 613
are achieved through the association of the lineage system with the terri-
torial units. The lines of cleavage tend to coincide, for lineages are 619

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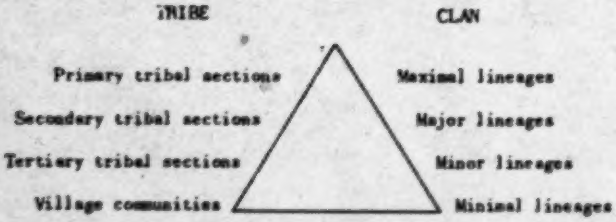
(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Local Community among the Nuer*, 1950, p.[illegible]
(2) Ibid., p.[illegible]

621 not corporate groups but are embodied in local communities through which
613 they function structurally.(1) The tendency towards the co-ordination of
territorial and lineage segmentation can be seen in various stages of
619 territorial expansion between the household and the tribe.(2)



The action and interaction of the various tribal segments and the underlying principles of opposition and fusion are seen in operation when disputes and cases of homicide are dealt with, and in times of feud and war. This acephalous kinship system has a determining influence on the nature of the age sets, on the rules of exogamy, on the character of kinship, on the people, and indeed on every aspect of Nuer life.

NUER NAMES

551 Every Nuer has a personal or birth name *(cot pony)* which is given without ceremony by the parents shortly after birth; he may have a second personal name given by his maternal grand-parents. In later life, he is addressed as gwa (father) by the younger generation. In addition, everyone inherits a *cot paak*, an honorific or praise name of the clan of his father, which is used mostly on ceremonial occasions. A man's maternal kin will tend to use the honorific name of the mother's clan.

At initiation a man acquires an ox name derived from the colour or characteristics of the ox given him on this occasion by his father. A man is given his ox name by his age mates in particular. Maidens take ox names from the bulls calved by the cows they milk, but these are seldom used except at dances.

A dance name, nickname, or traditional name may be used in conjunction with ox names at dances. In addition a man is often addressed as 'son of --' followed by the name of his father. Among maternal relatives the matronymic is used instead of the patronymic used among paternal kinsmen. A man is called after his elder son by his in-laws, while a woman who has status in her husband's home in virtue of having borne him a child is addressed by the name of her eldest child. A Nuer, therefore, may be addressed by a number of different names or titles. The one actually used on any occasion depends on the age, relationship, and clan of the speaker, and also on the response and mode of behaviour which it is intended to evoke.(3)

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, 1940, p.240. (2) *Ibid.*, p.248.
(3) Evans-Pritchard, *Uganda Journal*, 1948, Vol.12, No.2, p.166.